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ABSTRACT

This resource unit, developed by the University of Minnesota's Project Social Studies, introduces eighth graders to the executive process. The unit uses case studies of presidential decision making such as the decision to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, the Cuba Bay of Pigs and quarantine decisions, and the Little Rock decision. A case study of a governor's decision to declare martial law during a strike is also used. The first of two content outlines presents a logical outline of the sub-generalizations and data which supports major generalizations. The second outline offers a general order to follow in presentation along with correlated teaching procedures. Objectives are included and readings, decision making exercises, and a bibliography are appended. Teacher's guide is SO 007 511. (Author/KSM)

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Grade Eight
UNIT III: THE EXECUTIVE PROCESS

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RESOURCE UNIT

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SO 007 510

INTRODUCTION

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This unit is presented before the one of the legislative process for several reasons. Originally, it was designed to follow the legislative unit. However, classroom use showed that pupils found it easier to analyze decision-making by one or a few men first than to do so when many more people were involved as in the legislative process. Furthermore, pupils tended to identify with executive decision-makers more than with congressional decision-makers and so became more interested in the political process. Consequently, the two units were revised and their order reversed.

It should be noted that there is little treatment in this unit of one of the executive's major roles--the legislative role, since this role can be treated better in the unit on the legislative process. There is also little treatment of the executive's influence on courts, a topic which is handled in the unit on the judicial process.

Like the unit on Political Parties and Elections, this unit includes two outlines of content. Outline #1 presents a logical outline of the sub-generalizations and data which can be used to support the major generalizations. However, the unit should not be taught in the order presented here since case studies and other illustrative material present data related to many of the major ideas. Instead, teachers should use the general order followed in outline #2. To clarify the relationships between outline #1 and the procedures used to teach outline #2, procedure numbers are placed after different parts of the first outline to show how each part will be developed. There is also a column after procedures showing the relationship to the first outline. By referring back to outline #1, the teacher can do a better job of pointing each activity toward important ideas.

OBJECTIVES

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Generalizations

1. All societies, including the society of nations, have potential conflict among their members and must work out some means of accommodating differences.

   1a. In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic.

   1b. Political compromise consists of bringing various conflicting political interests or positions into a commonly acceptable intermediate position.

   1c. Conflict may be ended by accommodation without compromise, by one side giving in completely to the other.

   1d. Accommodation between antagonistic parties is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties and of their will to use this strength.

2. The executive is a political institution generally representative of the system as a whole; it is charged with the application of public policy and with the external relations of the system.

3. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

4. Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.

   4a. A law or policy must be effectuated and applied; in that process the whole decision-making and influence process goes on again.

   4b. Any decision is, in part, a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

   4c. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from the other decision-makers and to pressures from outside the government.

   4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.

   4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility, available resources, available time, available information, and previous commitments.

   4f. An official may experience role conflict because of the many roles he must assume.

5. The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesion and must also organize its strategies and provide intellectual leadership.

6. Political power is unevenly distributed through a population even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man -- one vote ensures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

7. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

8. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

9. Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.

10. Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences and autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency, diversity and competition.

11. The international system may be looked at as a series of power relationships.

12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

13. In spite of the earth's diversity, there is an interrelationship of places in the world.

14. Every place has three types of location: a position, a site, and a situation.

SKILLS

1. Considers possible hypotheses and tries to test them.

2. Uses Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature to locate information.

3. Uses U.S. Government Manual to locate information on government agencies.

4. Reads for the main idea or ideas. (Is able to use introductions, summaries and first sentences in paragraphs to pick out main ideas.)

5. Reads to organize what is read.
   a. Works out structure of what is read.
   b. Relates ideas to ideas acquired from other sources and reorganizes own structure for topic.

6. Increases understanding of social studies vocabulary by:
   a. Studying context in which words are used.
   b. Using a dictionary.

7. Gains information by listening.
   a. Listens to structured speeches for main ideas, supporting details, and evaluating what he hears.

8. Gains information through interviews.

9. Distinguishes between relevant and irrelevant information.

10. Checks on the bias and competency of authors.

11. Recognizes differences in difficulty of proving statements.
   a. Distinguishes between facts, inferences and value judgments.
   b. Distinguishes between difficulty of proof.

12. Identifies and examines assumptions.

13. Checks on the completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence.

14. Detects inconsistencies in material.

15. Applies previously-learned concepts and generalizations to new data.

16. Organizes information according to some logical pattern which fits his topic.
    a. Distinguishes between major and subordinate points.
    b. Identifies main idea.
    c. Omits irrelevant data.
    d. Chooses an appropriate type of organization.

17. When communicating orally uses techniques to clarify ideas and arouse interest.

18. Presents effective oral reports and symposiums.

19. Can make and interpret time lines to help him look for relationships among events.

20. Interprets cartoons.

21. Generalizes from data.

Attitudes

1. Respects evidence even when it contradicts prejudices and preconceptions.

2. Considers generalizations as tenative, always subject to change in the light of new evidence.

3. Values objectivity and desires to keep his values from affecting his interpretation of evidence, although recognizing the important role of values in the process of making decisions about problems which demand action.

4. Is committed to the free examination of social attitudes and data. Searches actively for different points of view and interpretations. Values independent thought.

5. Evaluates information and sources of information before accepting evidence and generalizations.

6. Is curious about social data and wishes to read and study further in the social sciences.

7. Is skeptical of theories of single causation in the social sciences and is equally skeptical of panaceas.

8. Feels a sens of responsibility for keeping informed about current problems.

9. Supports freedom of thought and expression.

10. Values procedural safeguards needed for a fair trial for those accused of crimes.

11. Desires to protect the rights of minorities.

12. Has a reasoned loyalty to the U.S. and desires to make it an ever-better place in which to live.

GENERALIZATIONS	OUTLINE OF CONTENT (OUTLINE #1--Not in order of teaching)	REFERENCES TO TEACHING ACTIVITIES (See Outline #2)
1. All societies have potential conflict among their members and must work out some means of accommodating differences.	I. All societies, including the society of nations, have potential conflict among their members and must work out some means of accommodating differences.	
1a. In political conflict, there is a struggle over scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic.	A. In political conflict, there is a struggle over control of scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic.	30,31,43,47,49,50,58,61, 67-68,80,93,96,100-102, 117,119
	1. In the case studies and other examples of foreign policy decision-making presented in this unit, a number of conflicts were involved.	30,31,43,47,49,50,58,61, 67,68,80,93,96,100-102, 117
	a. There was a conflict between Negroes and southern whites over integrated schools in the Little Rock Affair. The Negroes turned to the federal courts for help; while the whites tried to bring pressure on the governor to get help.	80
	b. There was a conflict between states rights and the rights of the federal government in the Little Rock affair.	93,96,100
	c. There was an economic conflict between Cuba and the U.S. and a power conflict between the Soviet Union and the U.S. in the Cuban crisis.	30,31,43,47,49,50,58,61, 67-68
	d. There was an economic conflict between labor and management in the Albert Lea strike. Eventually the governor stepped in to try to keep the conflict from ending in greater violence.	101,102

e. There was a conflict between different economic and conservation interests in the Northern Minnesota canoe region controversy. Both sides tried to influence the President. 117

f. There was a conflict beweeen different groups who wished to control the Dominican Republic and at least a suspected controversy between communist goals and the anti-communist goals in our intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965. 104

g. There is a conflict between communist and non-communist forces in South Viet Nam. 105

2. There are many other kinds of conflict involved in executive action. 106,117,119,127,128

a. There is sometimes conflict between different departments or bureaus within the executive department. (e.g. Bureaus interested in aviation and in conservation differed over whether planes should be forbidden to fly into the wilderness area of Northern Minnesota.) 117

b. There may be a conflict between higher and lower executive officials (e.g. There was a conflict between President Truman and General MacArthur which led to MacArthur's firing.) 106

c. There is sometimes conflict between regulatory agencies and business organizations. (The Food and Drug Administration may be faced with a conflict between the public health interest and the economic interest of a drug firm.) 119,129

d. There may be economic conflict between different business organizations which all wish to gain a government contract with the Defense Department or some other executive agency. 111,128

e. There may be conflict between the general public interest in better transportation routes and the interests (economic and non-economic) of those who live in areas through which freeways may run. 128

1b. Political compromise consists of bringing various conflicting political interests or positions into a commonly acceptable intermediate position.

B. Political compromise consists of bringing various conflicting political interests or positions into a commonly acceptable intermediate position. 30,61,67-68,117

1. The case study on Cuba illustrates political compromise. (Russia withdrew the missiles from Cuba, and Kennedy promised not to invade Cuba.) 67-68

2. Compromise is related to the relative political power of the disputants; it is most likely to occur when there is a relative equality of power, and therefore something approaching deadlock in the decision. 61,67,68

a. In the international system, inequalities of power only invite the use of some form of coercion. Since power is partly the result of the will to use one's military and economic resources, and since Khrushchev doubted Kennedy's willingness to go to war over Cuba, Khrushchev was willing to gamble on success in Cuba. 61

b. The Cuban crisis was ended by a compromise when it became clear that the United States was determined to use force if necessary. Both parties compromised because they knew that war would be extremely destructive for both sides. 67-68

1c. Conflict may be ended by accommodation without compromise, by one side giving in completely to the other.	C. Conflict may be ended by accommodation without compromise. One side may have to give in completely to the other side because of great differences in political power.	23,24,96,106
	1. Faubus finally had to give in to Eisenhower in the Little Rock crisis.	96
	2. Japan finally had to surrender to the allies who had much greater military power.	23,24
1d. Accommodation between antagonistic parties is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties and of their will to use this strength.	D. Accommodation between antagonistic parties is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties and of their will to use this strength.	23,24,61,67-68,95,96,100
	1. If one party to a conflict thinks it can win, it may fight rather than just give in or compromise.	61,67-68,100
	2. How much one asks at the bargaining table or in politics depends upon one's estimate of the other's strength, which can only be proved in a test of strength.	23,24,61,67-68,95,96, 100
	a. Japan's demands in return for surrender declined as the Japanese government became more aware of U.S. power to destroy Japan.	23,24
	b. Khrushchev underestimated Kennedy's determination to use our strength in Cuba; when Kennedy's determination became apparent and the quarantine was instituted,--which our navy could easily enforce so close to home -- Khrushchev agreed to a compromise. Kennedy agreed to a compromise because he was aware of Russia's power to destroy large cities in this country if war came.	61,67-68

c. Faubus underestimated Eisenhower's willingness to use force to back up the court decision in the Little Rock affair; his failure to estimate Eisenhower's position correctly may have been due to Eisenhower's previous statement or to the Newport discussion which may have been ambiguous. 95,96,100

2. The executive is a political institution representative of the system as a whole; it is charged with the application of public policy and with the external relations of the system.

II. The executive is a political institution generally representative of the system as a whole; it is charged with the application of public policy and with the external relations of the system. 1,2,9,10,16 and see below.

A. The President in this country is responsible for carrying out the laws passed by Congress and for enforcing federal court decisions. 3,4,5,81,96,104,110,114, 118

1. The President heads the many executive departments charged with carrying out the laws. He is aided by cabinet members who are each responsible for a department and who also give him advice. 81,114

2. Although there are some independent regulatory agencies charged with carrying out general laws, the president has some effect on them because of his appointive powers and his power over submitting a budget; however he has less power over them than over his regular departments because he cannot remove the members of the agencies once they are appointed. 110,118

B. Because of his role as foreign policy initiator and commander-in-chief of our armed forces, the President maintains control of the political system's external relationships. 3,4,5,8,43,104,105,106

C. The President is the only public official elected (in effect) by a vote of all voters in this country. His constituency is the American public. As a result, he has become a symbol of the nation. 3,4,5

D. State governors (and other state executive officials) carry out state laws and represent the states in dealings with other states and with the federal government. They must also help enforce federal court orders within their state. 5,88,89,101

E. Cities and towns have some official such as a mayor who has some responsibility for carrying out local ordinances. 5

G3 The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

III. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality. See below

A. The law-making function (if law is understood to be binding rules of conduct) is undertaken by all three branches of government; all are involved in determining norms of behavior or making policy. 84,85,117,118,120, 124,127

1. The executive branch frequently proposes legislation, draws up proposed laws, and tries to bring influence to bear to get these laws passed. 12

2. Executive agencies formulate specific regulations, under authority granted to them by the legislative branch. 117

3. The semi-independent regulatory agencies make further rules and regulations to carry out general laws. 118,124,127

4. The judicial branch, by its decisions, may apply general constitutional clauses in the making of specific policy (as it did in the school desegregation case in 1954.) 84,85

B. When legislatures oversee administrative agencies, alter administrative lines of responsibility, and review practices of administrative agencies, they participate in the administrative and executive processes. 106,111,112,114

1. A congressional investigating committee investigated Truman's firing of MacArthur. 106

2. Congress has passed laws changing bureaus and departments or setting up new departments. 114.

3. Congress has investigated expenditures by federal bureaus and departments. 111

4. Congress investigates the carrying out of laws (such as our Pure Food and Drug Act) to find out if the laws should be changed. 120

5. Congress may use the threat of withholding funds or not passing some suggested legislation in order to get the executive to change some decision (such as closing military bases). 111,112

C. The independent regulatory agencies exercise a judicial function in deciding whether or not people or groups are abiding by its regulations and punishing those who do not abide by them. (Their decisions can be appealed to the regular courts.) 119,120,124,127

D. Congress may interfere with or help the President's conduct of foreign relations. 43,58,106,117

1. The Senate may refuse to ratify treaties. 108

2. Congress may fail to appropriate the money needed to carry out a treaty or the President's foreign policies (such as foreign aid). 108

	3. Congress can refuse to declare war even if the President asks for such a declaration; however, the President can get us into an undeclared war by his control of the armed forces.	106,117
	4. Congress can pass bills or resolutions which anger other countries or make it difficult for the President to carry out a policy. (So, too, it may pass a resolution or bill which supports the President's policy.)	43,58,117
G4. Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.	IV. Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups, including the executive, and is subject to varying influences.	14 and see below.
4a. A law or policy must be effectuated and applied; in that process the whole decision-making and influence process goes on again.	A. A law or policy must be effectuated and applied; in that process the whole decision-making and influence process goes on again.	47,49,50,54-55,67,68, 86,91,93,95,96,100,101-102,106,119,120,130
	1. Enforcing officials must decide how, when, and with what degree of stringency to enforce legal restrictions.	86,93,96,101,119,120, 130
	a. Administrative agencies have considerable leeway in deciding which laws they will work to enforce or in how they will interpret certain laws.	119,120
	b. Eisenhower had to decide whether he would enforce the court order against Faubus, how soon he would act, and to what degree he would interfere with the governor's stand.	93,96

c. Freeman had to decide whether to use the national guard to enforce the court order or whether to maintain order by some other means. He did not have to call out the guard at all. 101

2. Supreme Court decisions have effect only if they are enforced. This was true of the integration decision and the later court decisions in the Little Rock crisis. 86,93,96,100

3. No executive order has any effect unless it is enforced. 47,49,50,54,55,67,68,91, 93,95,96,101,102,106

a. CIA officials in the field ignored both Eisenhower's and Kennedy's orders to not use Americans in the invasion plans and to not use followers of Batista. 47,49,50,54,55

b. Eisenhower's decision about Little Rock would have had no effect if his defense department officials and army officials had not followed his orders. 96

c. Freeman's orders on Albert Lea had to be carried out by his attorney general and the commander of national guard troops. 101

d. Truman's order to MacArthur was ignored and became the basis for the firing of MacArthur. 106

e. A President's orders are more likely to be followed if they are clear and unambiguous, if they are clearly made by the President, and if they are publicized. 47,49,50,67,68,93,95, 96,106

1) Eisenhower's decision at Newport may have been unclear. Moreover, he could not directly order the governor to do anything; he could only threaten. 93,95

2) Truman's order to MacArthur may have been somewhat ambiguous because of his failure to back up earlier orders and because of the way in which the order was sent to MacArthur. 106

3) Eisenhower publicly announced his Little Rock order, and the order was clear. 96

4) Kennedy could not publicly announce his orders on the Bay of Pigs invasion; this gave the local CIA officers more opportunity to ignore them. 47,49,50

5) Kennedy's annauncement of the quarantine made it more likely that his orders would be obeyed. 67,68,71

B. The President must also make policy decisions about foreign policy; these decisions may determine whether we have war or peace. 8,23-25,30,31,47,49,50, 58,63-65,67-68,104,105

C. Decision-making is subject to varying influences. 8,13 23-25,46-47,49,50, 54,55,61,63-65,67-68, 71,84,86,93,95,96,100, 101,103-105,110,111,117, 120,122

1. Any decision is, in part, a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiances of the persons making the decision. 23,24,47,49,50,54,55,58, 61,63-65,67-68,71,84,86, 93,95-96,100,101,103-106, 111,117,122

a. The executive official approaches the political process with a complex of political attitudes, outlooks, values, and goals. 23,24,63-65,67-68,71,93, 96,100,101,103,104,105, 117,120,122

1) He may believe that big government constitutes a threat to personal liberty and 93,99-101,103,122

that that government is best which governs least; he may believe that the reverse is true; or he may hold beliefs anywhere in between these positions. His attitude toward the role of government and the different levels of government affects his decisions.

a) Eisenhower failed to act more quickly in the Little Rock crisis because of his beliefs about federal-state relations and the role of government; he finally acted because of his view of the role of the President in carrying out the laws of the land. 93,99,100

b) Freeman's actions in Albert Lea were due in part to his view of the role of the governor in preventing death and injury to human beings. 101,103

2) His attitudes toward labor and business may affect his decisions; Freeman's actions may have been affected by his attitude toward labor unions. 101,103

3) His attitudes toward war may affect his decisions. 23,24,63-65,67,68,71, 104,105

a) Kennedy tried to adopt a policy which he thought most likely to gain the desired end without leading to war with the Soviet Union. 63-65,67,68,71

b) Truman and Stimson adopted a policy which they thought might bring the quickest end to World War II. 23,24

4) His attitudes toward the role of the U.S. may affect his decision. Kennedy rejected the idea of dropping bombs without 63-65,71

warning as an American.

5) His attitude toward civil rights may affect his decision; Eisenhower delayed action in part because of his attitude toward the Supreme Court decision on civil rights. 93,100

6) His attitudes toward conservation may affect his decisions about national forests. 117

7) His attitude toward communism may affect his decisions about foreign policy and military moves. (e.g. Cuban crises, Dominican crisis, Viet Nam crisis). 63-65,71

b. The backgrounds and values and experiences of decision-makers not only tell directly in their decisions, but tell indirectly in the different degrees of access they accord to influences. 23,24,47,49,50,54,55,61, 71,101,103,104,105,111

1) Governor Freeman was greatly influenced by his two aides whom he sent to Albert Lea; he chose them because of his attitude toward their qualifications and points of view. 101,103

2) Kennedy relied heavily upon the advice of the CIA and Joint Chiefs of Staff prior to the Bay of Pigs invasion because he had learned to respect the heads during his days in Congress; he paid more attention to other advisors during the Cuba confrontation. 47,49,50,54,55,61,71

3) Truman had tremendous respect for military advisers; he followed the advice of his chief advisors in dropping the atomic bomb. 23,24

4) Kennedy and Johnson have relied heavily upon the advice of MacNamara because of the attitudes they had toward the things he is trying to do and because of their respect for his intelligence. 61,104,105,111

c. The decision-making of executives (including administrators in independent regulatory commissions) tends to vary with the party of the decision-maker; that is to say, their party choices reflect different political values and perceptions which are then reflected in their decisions. 101,103,120,122

1) Governor Freeman became a Democrat because of his general attitudes toward labor and the role of government; his decision at Albert Lea would probably not have been the same if he had been a businessman elected as a Republican. 101,103

2) A Goldwater Republican appointed to the job as Attorney General or to a regulatory commission such as the Federal Trade Commission would probably make somewhat different decisions than would a northern liberal Democrat appointed to such a position. 120,122

G4e. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and to pressures from people outside the government.

2. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers, and from people outside the government. 46,47,49,50,54,55,58,61,63-65,67,68,71,86,93,95,100,101,103,104,105,106,111,117

a. The executive feels the influence of legislators. (Kennedy was influenced by Congressional debate during the Cuban crisis in 1962. He had to consider the changes for the rest of his program in Congress as he made his decision.)

b. The executive reacts to the influence of his own advisors.	23,24,47,49,50,54,55,61, 63-65,67-68,71,93,95, 100,101,103,104
1) Kennedy accepted the Bay of Pigs plan because of pressure from the CIA advisors.	47,49,50,54,55
2) Freeman accepted the advice of his advisors at Albert Lea because they were closer to the scene.	101,103
3) Kennedy was much influenced by his small group of advisors who discussed the Cuban crisis of 1962.	61,63-65,67-68,71
4) Truman was highly dependent upon his scientific and military advisors in his decision on the atom bomb; he had to depend upon their knowledge in technical fields.	23-24
c. The executive must consider public reaction to his policies. He wishes to be reelected or he wishes his party to be successful in the next election. He also wishes public prestige to use as an instrument to persuade legislators to pass his legislative program.	46,47,49,50,54,55,58, 63-65,67-68,71,86,100, 105,106,117
1) Kennedy had to consider public opinion during the Cuban crisis of 1962 and possible public criticism if he did not follow the advice of experts in the Bay of Pigs situation in 1961.	47,49,50,54,55,58,63-65, 67-68,71
2) Faubus was considering public opinion and the effects of his actions upon his chances for reelection.	86,100
3) It is probably that Eisenhower's actions in Cuba were affected in part by the Presidential election campaign.	46

d. The executive will be influenced by other decision-makers partly because he respects their advice and partly because of the power of these advisors to affect the executive's power. 23,24,47,49,50,54,55, 71,101,103,106,110

1) Kennedy followed the advice of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the CIA partly because of his respect for their opinions and partly because he worried about public reaction if it became known that he had not done so. 47,49,50,54,55

2) Truman followed the advice of Stimson and and the advistory committee and Marshall because he respected their advice. 23,24

3) Freeman followed the advice of his two aides because he respected their advice. 101,103

4) Truman followed MacArthur's advice on going into North Korea because he respected his military advice; he hesitated to fire MacArthur for many failures to follow orders because he thought he needed him as a general and because he worried about public reaction. 106

5) A President may accept the advice of a cabinet member because he does not wish to fire him or fears public reaction if he does fire him or because he does not wish the cabinet member to resign. 110

a) It would be awkward for a President if his Secretary of State were to resign just after the President has made an important foreign policy decision or has sent troops to some world trouble spot. 110

b) It would be awkward for the President if his Attorney General were to resign just after he has taken an action or made a decision as to how he will or will not enforce a Supreme Court decision or just after he has taken an action which some say may be unconstitutional. 110

6) The President may accept advice of key congressmen who can hurt his legislative program if they wish to do so. 108

Ch. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.

D. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made. 23,24,47,49,50,54,55,61, 63-65,67-68,71,81,84,93, 96,101,103,104,105,111, 112,117,119,120,129

1. Government institutions limit access to decision makers. 84,111

a. Interest groups cannot threaten to defeat a cabinet member, but they can influence the cabinet member by influencing congressmen who may control the cabinet member's department funds or by bringing pressure upon the President. 111

b. Certain kinds of interest groups have greater access to the President or to federal courts than to their congressmen because the President is elected by the nation as a whole. (Civil Rights groups have more chance of being heard by the President or by federal courts than by southern congressmen.) 84

c. The President's own rules on procedu to be followed and his own organization of his White House advisors affects the ease of access to him. 116

1) For most of Eisenhower's administration, people had to get Sherman Adams' approval before going to the President; the President demanded short summaries of issues rather than long position papers. 116

2) Kennedy made himself easily accessible to many advisors. 116

2. Government institutions set the powers of decision-makers. 23,24,47,49,50,54-55, 63-65,71,81,93,95,96, 100,101,103-106,112, 117,119,120,129

a. The Constitution permits the President to veto a congressional bill but also provides for a means by which Congress can override the veto.

b. The Constitution fails to provide for item vetos in appropriation bills; some states give this power to the governor. 112

c. Congress sets up certain departments and bureaus in the executive department and gives some executive agencies semi-independent powers to remove them from the President's control. 119,120

d. The President is commander-in-chief of our armed forces and has chief responsibility for conducting our foreign affairs. 23,24,47,49,50,54,55, 63-65,71,104,106

1) Kenndy could use this power to issue the quarantine order and to give the go-ahead to the Bay of Pigs invasion without asking for the power to do so from Congress. 47,49,50,54,55,63-65, 71

2) Truman could issue the order to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima without asking Congress to give him this power.	23,24
3) Truman had the power to fire MacArthur.	106
e. The Constitution gave Eisenhower power to send troops into Little Rock.	81,96,100
f. The Courts decided that Faubus exceeded his power as governor to use guardsmen to block the carrying out of a court order.	96
g. The court decided that Freeman exceeded his power when he closed the Wilson plant at Albert Lea.	101,103
h. Governors may have little power over administration if key administrative officials are elected by the people rather than appointed.	129
3. Institutional factors may informally distribute power and authority among decision-makers.	61,63-65,67-68,71,104, 105,136
a. The structure of the President's cabinet made it almost certain that Kennedy would call for advice from his Secretary of Defense and his Secretary of State during the Cuban crisis. These men were charged with responsibilities for administering our armed forces and the men engaged in diplomatic relations with other countries.	61,71
b. Congress, rather than the President, has the right to declare war; however, the President can commit our forces to undeclared war because of his power as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. In effect, this gives the President the right to get us into war.	63-65,67-68,71,104,105

c. The power of Congress to determine funds to be received by each government bureau or department, makes some of the heads of these departments more responsive to the demands of key congressmen on appropriations committees than to the President himself. 112,117

4. Institutions set the procedures for decision-making. 112,117

a. The President must submit his budget by a certain date; this means that he may have to do so before he wishes to or before he can study some items as thoroughly as he would wish. 116

b. Congressional laws and executive orders set up certain general procedures to be followed by independent regulatory agencies. 117,119,120

5. Institutions set the boundaries and dimensions of the political playing field and fix the rules of the game played in it. 23,24,67-68,71,111

a. In recent years it has become the thing to do for the President to consult congressional leaders of both parties about major foreign policy decisions. (Kennedy called in such leaders at the time of his quarantine decision.) 67-68,71

b. Department secretaries and bureau chiefs know that it is the thing to do to consult with appropriate congressional committees before making drastic changes which they have power to make or before calling for new laws which may face considerable opposition in Congress. (e.g. Defense Secretary MacNamara has learned to consult congressional committees before trying to merge guard and reserve units.) 111

c. The scientists who wished to petition Truman to give warning before dropping the atomic bomb followed forms and sent this petition through one of the President's advisors who never passed it on to the President. 23,24

d. A President's own rules set up the limits under which cabinet officials and other advisors suggest advice outside of matters related to their own department. Some Presidents encourage such advice; some do not. Some Presidents hold cabinet meetings to discuss many policies; some do not. 116

G4d. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility, available resources, available time, available information, and previous commitments.

E. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility (legal rights, reaction of other countries, reaction of other decision makers, public opinion); available resources (money, manpower, prestige, patronage, influence), available time; available information, previous commitments (by other presidents, his own appointees, his own promises, national traditions and principles). 23,24,47,49-51,54,55,58,61,63-65,67-68,71,76,86,93,96,100,101,104-106,108,111,112,115,137

1. An executive's decisions are limited by permissibility. 23,24,47,49,50,54,55,58,63,67,68,71,76,86,93,96,100,101,103-106,111,112,117,137

a. He must decide in terms of his legal rights and duties or what he thinks are his legal rights and duties. 23,24,63-65,67-68,71,93,96,100,101,103-106,117

1) President Eisenhower had taken an oath to uphold the laws of this country; this meant upholding court decisions. 93,96,100

2) President Kennedy had the power to issue a quarantine of Cuba and to order the Bay of Pigs invasion. 47,49,50,63-65,67,68,71

3) President Truman had the power to order the use of the atomic bomb.	23,24
4) Freeman thought he was acting within his legal rights when he closed the Albert Lea plant.	101,103
5) A President cannot decide to veto only part of an appropriations bill or make any other decision which is clearly not within his constitutional powers.	112
6) Truman had the Constitutional power to fire MacArthur.	106
b. A President's decisions on foreign affairs must take into consideration possible reactions in other countries; he is limited by what other countries may do.	23,24,47,49,50,54,55, 58,61,63-65,67,68,71, 104,105
1) Truman had to consider world opinion as he made his decision on the use of the atomic bomb.	23,24
2) Truman had to consider the effect on Japanese military leaders if he made an offer to let the Japanese emperor remain in power while the U.S. was still engaged in a bitter military struggle over Okinawa.	23,24
3) Kennedy had to consider what the communists would do in other trouble spots if he used American forces to prevent defeat at the Bay of Pigs.	47,49,50,54,55
4) Kennedy had to consider Soviet reactions to each possible American action in Cuba in 1962; he had to consider past Soviet commitments as he made his plans.	63-65,67,68,71

5) Kennedy had to consider the reaction of Latin American countries and other countries of the world as he made his decision about Cuba. 58,63-65,67,68,71

6) Johnson had to consider the effect on world opinion when he sent marines into the Dominican Republic and when he sent more troops to Viet Nam. 104,105

c. An executive's decisions must take into consideration the reaction of other decision-makers in legislatures and in his own administration. Can his decision be carried out if these people oppose it? 76,105,108,111,137

1) There is little point in making a treaty if the Senate will not ratify it. 108

2) The President must obtain appropriations from Congress. If his foreign policy or any other policy antagonizes Congress too much, he may not get the appropriations needed to carry the policy out. 108,111

3) The President must consider the rest of his legislative program. He must decide if the decision to do one thing is worth it if he endangers the rest of his legislative program by angering Congressmen. 108

4) There is little point in deciding to appoint a man to a federal job if the President is sure that Congress will not approve the appointment. 108

5) The President must consider the attitude of his own appointees. Can he persuade them of the wisdom of the policy, If not, the policy is not likely to be carried out. 137

d. An executive's decisions must take into consideration public opinion. If he does not have public support for a policy, he may find it difficult to carry out or to get other parts of his program carried out. 58,63-65,67,68,71,76, 100,104-106,112,117

1) He may not be reelected, and his whole party may suffer. 104-106

2) If foreign countries find that the nation is not supporting the President, they may feel that the policy will change soon. Therefore, they may pay little attention to it. 63-65,107

3) The President may use up so much of his public prestige that he cannot get congressmen to pass laws because they fear public reaction to programs proposed by the President. 105

2. An executive's decisions are limited by available resources. 23,24,63-65,67,68,71, 76,100,101,103-105, 110,112

a. Foreign policy decisions are limited by military and industrial strength. (Kennedy could make his 1962 decision to quarantine Cuba because he had more military strength than the U.S.S.R. Truman had only two atomic bombs ready to use.) 23,24,63-65,67,68,71, 105

b. Decisions are limited by financial resources. (The President cannot do some things which need money if he considers other things which need money more important. The amount of money he can get or even dares ask for is limited.) 76,105,111,112

c. Decisions are limited by patronage resources and resources of good will or willingness to make sacrifices on the part of congressmen. (The President cannot ask a congressman to make sacrifices too frequently. Nor can he use his power to appoint to gain more than a limited number of things.) 110

d. Decisions are limited by a President's resources of prestige at home. (A President cannot get certain things done if he lacks public prestige or an image among other decision-makers for skill.) 105

e. Decisions are limited by resources of prestige abroad. (A President's decisions are limited by his international reputation for decisiveness and skill in his use of his power.) 105

f. Decisions to use force to enforce court decisions require available troops or police. 100,101,103

3. An executive's decisions are limited by available time; some decisions cannot be postponed but others can. 23,47,49,50,54,55,61, 63-65,67,68,71,100, 101,103

a. Some people think that Truman could not postpone his decision on the bomb because of Stalin's promise to enter the war against Japan. 23

b. Kennedy could not postpone the Bay of Pigs decision because of news that Cuba would soon have jet planes and trained jet pilots in action. 47,49,50,54,55

c. During the 1962 Cuban crisis, Kennedy could postpone a decision for a few days because the missile sites were not completed. Finally, he had to make a decision because they would 61,63-65,67,68,71,76

be completed in just a few days. A chance to postpone a decision gave Kennedy time to study alternative courses of action more carefully than he could otherwise have done.

d. Eisenhower could not postpone his Little Rock decision any longer because Faubus withdrew the guard and violence broke out in Little Rock. 47,49,50,54,55

e. Freeman felt that he could not postpone his decision because of the danger of renewed violence. 101,103

4. An executive's decisions are limited by available information. 23,24,47,49,50,54,55, 61,63-65,67,68,71,76, 101,103,104,105,117

a. Truman's decision on the atomic bomb was limited by the advice which reached him from his advisors and their failure to pass on the scientists' petition to him. 23,24

b. In the Bay of Pigs decision, Kennedy had to depend upon advice from military and CIA men who had not considered certain points or did not mention them. 47,49,50,54,55

c. In the 1962 crisis, Kennedy had more accurate information about missiles because of U-2 flights. U-2's also made it possible to give up the demand for on-the-land inspection of missile sites to make sure that all missiles and bases were dismantled. 61,63-65,67,68,71

d. Freeman's decision was limited by the kinds of information he could get at long distance from advisors and Albert Lea officials. 101,103

5. An executive's decisions are limited by previous commitments.	23,47,49,50,54,55,63, 71,93,96,100,105,115
a. They are limited by his own commitments.	47,49,50,63,71,93, 100,105
1) Kennedy's decision in the 1962 Cuban crisis was limited by his own past promises; the same was true of the Bay of Pigs invasion.	47,49,50,54,55,63,71
2) Eisenhower's decision on Little Rock was made difficult because of an earlier statement which he had made; however, his decision was also limited by his greater commitment when he took the oath of office to uphold the laws of the land.	93,96,100
b. They are limited by commitments made by past Presidents.	23,47,49,50,54,55,63, 71,100,105
1) Kennedy's decisions in Cuba were limited by past actions of Eisenhower both in his diplomatic relations with Cuba and in his decision to let the CIA train the refugees.	47,49,50,54,55,63,71
2) Kennedy and Johnson have been faced by the need to follow the tradition set up by Eisenhower to use troops if necessary to enforce court orders in civil rights cases.	100
3) Kennedy and Johnson have been limited in their decisions in Viet Nam by past commitments on Viet Nam. They could not go back on promises made by Eisenhower without hurting American prestige and making other nations doubt our promises in the future.	105

4) Truman's decision on the atomic bomb was limited to some degree by Roosevelt's commitment of huge sums of money and men to developing the bomb. 35

c. They are limited by past commitments in terms of national traditions and ideals. (Kennedy's decisions were limited by the American commitment to the Monroe Doctrine and to the American ideal of not starting a surprise war upon other countries.) 63-65,71

d. They are limited by commitments made by their own appointees. (If our Secretary of State threatens war if another country does something, the other countries think he is speaking for the President. It would be very difficult for the President to go back on this commitment without losing national prestige.) 115

F. The executive may experience role conflict because of the many roles he must assume. 3-5,58,86,133,134,93 104,106

1. The President has many roles. 3-5,93,96,104,106, 133,134

a. He is the defender of America from outside attack because of his job as commander-in-chief of the armed forces and his job of initiating foreign policy. He is also charged with preserving law and order and preventing insurrection within this country. 96,104-106,133,134

b. The President is an administrator who must see that laws are carried out. 93,96,133,134

c. The President may be called the chief legislator, in that Congress more and more reacts to his legislative program. 105,133,134

d. The President is head of his political party and must consider the effect of his actions upon his party's political fortunes as well as upon his own political fortunes. (The effect upon his own political fortunes may affect his ability to carry out his program.) 105,106,133,134

e. The President is chief of state and a symbol of the United States. He represents the people as a whole. 133,134

2. These roles may conflict. 58,93,96,105,106,133

a. The President's role as party leader may conflict with his role of representing the people as a whole or as a national symbol. 58,133

b. His role as defender may lead him to adopt certain foreign policies, take military action, or make military decisions which will hurt his party or his ability to get his program through Congress. 104-106,133

c. His role as defender of law and order at home may lead him to alienate certain groups whom he would like to attract to his political party. (e.g. Eisenhower at Little Rock.) 93,96,133

G5. The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesion and must also organize its strategies or provide intellectual leadership.

V. The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesiveness and harmony and must also organize its strategies or provide intellectual leadership. 75 and see below

A. These two demands are frequently not met by the same person. The President depends heavily upon advisors for planning strategy and providing intellectual leadership as well as for harmonizing efforts. 61,63-65,116

B. One of the major strategic decisions the leader must face is the deployment and use of resources of the organization with maximum efficiency and effect. 61,63-65,112,114,116

1. The President tries to develop an efficient administration for carrying out laws. 114,116

2. The President tries to develop an efficient administration for seeing to it that he gets key information about crucial problems so that he may make important decisions more easily and better. 116

3. The President must decide how best to use the talents of his advisors. 61,116

4. The President must decide how best to use his own time and energy. 61,116

5. The President must plan the budget for the best use of financial resources. 112

C. Different Presidents have set up different kinds of White House Staff organizations and have used their cabinet officials differently; different organizations have affected the kinds of information which they receive, the time at which they become aware of important problems needing decisions, and the time they have for making decisions. 116

D. Administrators are faced with the problem of maintaining morale among their staff members. 113

1. High morale tends to result in greater efficiency. 113

2. At times it is difficult for an administrator to follow the President's wishes for a cut in his department's or bureau's budget without hurting his staff's morale. [1]113

66. Political power is unevenly distributed through a population even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man--one vote ensures only a minimum opportunity for influence.	VI. Political power is unevenly distributed through a population even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man--one vote ensures only a minimum of opportunity for influence.	See below.
	A. Any political organization must delegate authority and responsibility to certain people; this delegation of authority gives these people more power than others have.	23,47,49,61,63-65,67,
	1. The President has more power than most public officials and far more power than any individual voter. He has this power because he has been delegated jobs to do and been given power to do them.	23,61,63-65,67,68,104, 105,106
	2. The President delegates certain jobs and powers to cabinet officials, military men, and other advisors. These men have more power than those lower in the administrative organization or than voters, but less power than the President has.	61,63-65,105,106,111, 115
	3. Any department head delegates certain responsibilities to key men. These men have more power than others in the department. (e.g. The CIA officials in Latin America wielded tremendous power over the Bay of Pigs invasion because of the power delegated to them.)	47,49,5-,54,55
	B. Political power may rest in formal elected government positions, but it need not. Every decision-maker is dependent on advice, knowledge, information, political intelligence, etc. and as a result those advisors who can provide them with it have an important base for exerting power and influence on the official.	47,49,50,54,55,61, 101,105,111

1. President Kennedy did not rely for advice about foreign or military affairs solely upon his Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and Joint Chiefs of Staff. 61

2. Some of Kennedy's military advisors lost power because of their advice about the Bay of Pigs invasion; some of them and some of the CIA officials lost their jobs. 47,49,50,54,55

3. Freeman depended heavily upon the advice of his two advisors whom he sent to Albert Lea. 101

4. The men appointed to the committee to give advice on the atomic bomb exerted considerable influence over the decision to use the bomb. They had more influence than many other scientists who worked on the bomb. 23

5. MacNamara has a great deal of power because he has been very useful to both Kennedy and Johnson. 105,111

C. An individual may have power at one point in the political system but not at another point; that is, political power relates to specific points of decision-making within the political system. 47,49,50,54,55,61, 114,118,137

1. An individual's particular expertise may give him influence over one type of decision-maker but not another or over one decision-maker at one time but not another. 61

2. The President has more power over military affairs and foreign policy than he does over getting his legislative program enacted. 137

3. The Secretary of Agriculture may have considerable influence and power over matters pertaining to his department but little influence over foreign policy decisions. 61

4. The President has no influence over judicial decisions once judges have been appointed. 137

5. The President may have little power over the independent regulatory agencies. 118,137

6. The President may have little power over the day to day workings of one of his departments; it is humanly impossible for him to supervise all of the details. Only when he learns that something he has ordered has not been done or that something has gone wrong will he be able to take time to intervene. 47,49,50,54,55,114,137

D. The President's power is his ability to get others to do what he wants done; it is based upon his constitutional rights, rights delegated to him by Congress, his image with other Washington decision-makers, and his public prestige. 106,110,112,118,136

1. A Congressman will pay more attention to the President's wishes if he thinks the President is popular with voters in the Congressman's district. 136

2. Congressmen and administrative decision-makers will pay more attention to a President's wishes if they think he is skilled and has know-how and will not waver in his decisions. Congressmen hate to go out on a limb for a presidential proposal if they think the President will change his mind later. 136

3. The President's power to appoint and remove men from office in his administration gives him considerable power over these men; however, they may not always carry out his wishes; they may feel the need to give in to wishes of Congressmen who control their budgets. 106,110,112,118,136

E. The unequal distribution of power reflects the fact of political organization; individuals join into aggregates to increase their political power by joining it with others. 86,117

1. The individual members of White Citizens Councils had more power over Governor Faubus because they were organized. 86

2. The members of the NAACP had more power over what happened at Little Rock because they were organized. 86

3. A President has more power if his policies are supported by various interest groups who bring pressure to bear upon Congressmen. 136

4. The conservation groups had a more powerful organization than the resort owners during the fight over the Minnesota canoe region. 117

G7. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

VII. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government. See below

A. The President or a governor may make a policy decision and then try to build public support for this policy or at least try to avert public criticism by explaining the action to the country or state. 58,63-65,67,68,96,101, 104,105,135

1. Eisenhower went on television to explain his use of troops in the Little Rock Affair. 96

2. Kennedy went on television to tell the people about his action in the Cuban crisis of 1962; earlier, he made several speeches about the Cuban situation to explain why he was not taking some action. 58,63-65,67,68

3. Freeman explained his action in the Albert Lea strike. 101

4. Johnson tried to build support for his Dominican and Viet Nam policies. 104.105

B. The traditional grass roots model of democracy (bottom to top movement of consent) presumes a higher level of interest and information than studies show are present in democratic publics. 58,61,62,63-65,67,68, 104,105

1. In foreign policy matters, many decisions must be made without telling the public all the information they would need to make up their minds before the action is taken. 61,65,104

a. Secrecy was needed in the 1962 Cuban situation in order to make the action effective. 61,63-65

b. Truman's defense of his removal of MacArthur hurt his attempts to get a Korean settlement by making his plans known to the enemy. 106

c. The citizens could not be told about the atomic bomb project without warning the enemy and increasing the danger of sabotage and espionage. 23

2. Most Americans know too little of military intelligence, or scientific information to make decisions on specific courses of action. 58,63-65,67,68,104,105

a. Citizens did not have the intelligence reports to make it possible for them to decide intelligently about what we should do in Cuba during the summer of 1962; nor did they have the reports to make it possible for them to decide what to do after bases were being built. 58,63-65,67,68

	b. Citizens could not know all of the intelligence information which led Johnson to intervene in the Dominican Republic.	104
G8. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.	VIII. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values. There is a difference in value assumptions about the individual, his worth, and his competence.	See below
	A. Democracy accords the individual a greater role in the direct determination of his destiny. (The individual Cuban has had little to say about the Cuban government under Castro or under his predecessors.)	41,43,45,83,139
	B. Related to the issue of the place of the individual are concepts of equality, liberty, and justice. (Cuban opponents of Batista and Castro did not have the usual safeguards of liberty or justice which we expect in this country.)	41,43-45,80,84,85,86,90
G9. Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.	IX. Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.	See below
	A. The constitutional amendment which limited any President to two full terms in office has made it more difficult for him to wield influence during his second term.	136
	B. The right to declare war is given to Congress by the Constitution, but Presidents have assumed the right to order troops and ships into areas in such a way that war has resulted.	47,49,50,54,55,63-65, 67,68,104,104
	C. The Supreme Court has changed its interpretation of the 14th Amendment to the federal Constitution.	83,84

G10. Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences and autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency, diversity, and competition.	X. Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences and autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency, diversity, and competition.	See below
	A. State regulation of education has made it difficult to obtain integrated schools.	84,85,86
	1. The Supreme Court left it up to the individual states and school districts to work out plans for carrying its decision into effect. This made it possible to prepare plans to meet local problems; it also meant that the process of integration would be very slow in many places.	84,85,86
	2. Those who believe strongly in states rights have opposed the school integration decision by numerous state laws aimed at preventing integration. Each of these laws must be tested in the courts, before integration can proceed.	85,86
	B. Federalism has made for delay in the use of federal troops to enforce law and order within states, since the state's governor is expected to enforce order if possible.	79,81,89,93,95,96
G11. The international system may be looked at as a series of power relationships.	XI. The international system may be looked at as a series of power relationships.	See below
	A. There are many sources of national power in dealing with other nations.	23,24,38,47-51,54,55, 63,65,67,68,89,104,105

1. Military capacity is an important factor in the development of national power, but not the only one. — 23,24,38,47-51,54,55, 63-65,67,68,104,105

   a. The Bay of Pigs failed despite the U.S. superiority in military power, because the President did not feel free to use that military might. — 47-51,54,55

   b. The quarantine of Cuba worked because of our military power. — 63-65,67,68

   c. Japan sued for peace because of our military power. — 23,24

2. Differences in population, resources, and economy may be reflected in differences in national power; that is to say, they are important bases or components of national power, although always changing and shifting bases. — 23,63-65,67,68,105

   a. Industrial capacity and energy resources are important bases for national power, especially military power at the present. — 105

   b. A country without industrial or agricultural resources or other crucial resources for carrying on a war cannot hope to develop the military weapons or to feed and clothe the populace or army, or carry on warfare without outside help. — 23,63-65,67,68,105

      1) Japan could not have continued the war very long because of the blockade which kept it from getting needed food and military supplies. — 23

2) Cuba could not have hoped to fight a war with any success against the United States without outside support. 63-65,67-68

3. National power depends also upon the willingness to use that power. Countries will be little influenced by this potential power if they are convinced a country will not use it. 47-51,54,55,58,63-65, 67,68

   a. Russia may have challenged the U.S. over Cuba in 1962 because its leaders were convinced we would not use our military might over Cuba. 63-65

   b. Our military might was of little help during the Bay of Pigs invasion because we were unwilling to use it. 47-51,54,55

4. A country's national power depends in part upon its relations with other countries. A country with strong alliances or support from other countries has more power than one without this good will and support. 58,63-65,67,68,89, 104,105

   a. If other countries are antagonized they may throw their military power, their resources and their industrial power to the aid of an opposing country or they may not provide the aid needed by the country which antagonizes them. 58,63-65,105

   b. Cuba was more powerful in 1962 because of Soviet support. 58,63-65,67,68

   c. Kennedy did not wish to antagonize other countries by his actions to get rid of the missiles in 1962. 63-65,67,68

B. Nations have at their command various instruments of national power; choice among them depends on the nature of the goal, its importance, the effectiveness of the means, and its acceptability. 23-25,38,40,43,47-50, 54,55,63-65,67,68,105

1. Nations can use force, diplomacy, propaganda and economic sanctions. 38,40,43,47-50,54,55, 63-65,67,68,105

a. Eisenhower tried to use economic sanctions against Cuba; these sanctions were not too effective because other countries refused to stop selling to Cuba and because Russia came to Cuba's aid economically. 40,43

b. Eisenhower tried to use diplomatic sanctions against Cuba; he recalled our ambassador and broke off diplomatic relations. 40,43

c. Kennedy considered using just diplomacy to turn world opinion against Russia in the 1962 Cuban crisis. 63-65

d. Castro used propaganda against the U.S. in Latin American countries and after the Bay of Pigs. 43

e. Kennedy used force in the Cuban crisis of 1962. 63-65,67,68

2. The choice of a means of using national power depends upon the nature of the goal, its importance, the effectiveness and acceptability of possible means. 23,24,25,47,49,50,54, 55,63-65,67,68,105

a. Kennedy did not want to bomb Cuban bases without warning because of the lack of acceptability of such a move among other countries and among many Americans. 63-65

b. Kennedy studied many alternative courses of action during the Cuban crisis of 1962 to try to decide which would be most effective in achieving the desired goal of getting rid of the missile sites without war. He had to consider possible Soviet actions which might make each course of action ineffective. 63-65

c. Kennedy was determined to take some action including force if necessary because of the importance of the goal of getting rid of the missile sites in Cuba. 63-65,67,68

d. Truman had to consider the importance of the goal of ending the war soon without so many American deaths as would otherwise be likely, the effectiveness of the atomic bomb in bringing about surrender, and the way in which our allies and Americans would react to the use of the bomb. 23,24,25

3. Force as a means of national power depends not only on the effective preponderance of force, but the possibility that its use may not alienate the support of other nations. 47-50,54,55,63-65, 67,68,105

a. The Bay of Pigs invasion failed because of the lack of a preponderance of military force. 47-50,54,55

b. Kennedy had to consider the possibility of alienating our allies, Latin Americans, and even anti-Castro forces in Cuba if he bombed or invaded Cuba in 1962. 63-65,67,68

4. The instruments of national power are not mutually exclusive; the use of diplomatic channels may have behind it the possibility of economic sanctions or military force, and the use of force may be supplemented by diplomatic endeavors (as in the Cuban crisis of 1962). 63-65,67,68,105

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.	XII. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.	14,17,19 and see below
	A. In the national political system:	58,67,68,80,84,86,96, 101,105,117,119,120, 123,124
	1. Voters influence actions of the President, Governor or Mayor (and executive agencies) and are affected by their decisions.	8,30,31,35,58,67,68, 80,85,101,105,117,123, 124
	2. Legislators influence actions of executives and are affected by executives.	58,106
	3. The Supreme Court or other courts may limit the actions of an executive, and he in turn influences the court by his nominations and by his willingness or unwillingness to enforce its decisions.	96,101
	4. Interest groups and voters influence executive agencies and are affected by their decisions in turn.	117,119,120,126,127
	5. Decisions by federal officials affect state officials and vice versa. (e.g. Little Rock crisis).	84,89,96
	B. Important political happenings in one part of the world affect other parts of the international political system.	30,31,33,34,36,38,40, 43,47,49,50,54,55,67, 68,104
	1. A Cuban revolution affected the United States.	40,43
	2. The Bay of Pigs invasion affected our relations with other Latin American countries and with the Soviet Union.	47,49,50,54,44

	3. The crisis in Laos affected our decision on the Bay of Pigs invasion.	47,49,50
	4. The Cuban crisis of 1962 threatened all parts of the world, not just the U.S.	58,67,68
	5. The revolt in the Dominican Republic led to U.S. intervention.	104
	6. The Viet Nam war has involved thousands of Americans.	105
G13. In spite of the earth's diversity, there is an interrelationship of places in the world.	XIII. In spite of the earth's diversity, there is an interrelationship of places in the world.	See below
	A. The world is interdependent economically. Americans depended for years upon Cuban sugar for much of its sugar supply; Cubans depended heavily upon the American sugar market.	39
	B. The American attempt to cut off supplies going and coming from Cuba (prior to the quarantine), was not too effective because of Russia's willingness to trade with Cuba.	43
G14. Every place has three types of location: a position, a site, and a situation.	XIV. Every place has three types of location: a position, a site, and a situation.	See below
	A. Location is a position which sets a phenomenon at a specific point on the earth's surface, usually designated by an abstract grid and described in terms of latitude and longitude. (Cuba lies at a specific point on the earth's surface.)	29,104,105

B. Site relates a phenomenon to the detailed physical setting of the area it occupies.	23,39,47,49-51,105
1. Cuba's physical features and climate are conducive to the development of many different kinds of agriculture. The great dependence upon sugar crops was due to cultural preferences.	39
2. Cuba's mineral resources have been conducive to the development of certain kinds of industry.	37
3. Cuba's mountains were separated from the Bay of Pigs by an almost impassable swamp. Moreover, the Bay of Pigs had many coral reefs which made landing by small landing crafts difficult.	47,49-51,54,55
4. Viet Nam's physical features make it difficult to fight the guerilla forces.	105
5. Japan's physical features (as well as the attitude of Japanese soldiers) made American military men believe that invasion would be very costly in men.	23
C. Situation describes a phenomenon in areal relationship with other phenomena with which it is associated.	29,32,58,63-65,104,105
1. Cuba is important to the U.S. because of its closeness to Florida, Cape Kennedy, the Panama Canal, and other Latin American countries.	29,32,58,63-65
2. Cuba has been important to the U.S. in the past because Americans wanted Cuban sugar. There was a trade relationship between the two countries. Moreover, transportation costs were not so great as between nations located further apart.	39

3. The closeness of the Dominican Republic to the U.S. and to other Latin American countries made the U.S. very concerned about the 1965 revolt. 104

4. Viet Nam's location in relationship to other countries has made it important in the cold war. 105

OBJECTIVES	OUTLINE OF CONTENT NO. II (In order of teaching)
A. IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA.	I. The executive, at whatever level of government, makes decisions which affect the lives of all of those living within his jurisdiction.
G2. The executive is a political institution generally representative of the system as a whole; it is charged with the application of public policy and with the external relations of the system.	A. The executive is a political institution generally representative of the system as a whole; it is charged with the application of public policy and with the external relations of the system.
G3. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be demonstrated in reality.	1. The President has many roles to play. a. He is responsible for carrying out the laws of Congress and enforcing federal court decisions. b. He is the key figure in carrying on our relations with other countries.

TEACHING PROCEDURES	OUTLINE I	MATERIALS OF INSTRUCTION
Initiatory Activities		
1. Give pupils a word association test. They should write down the first word that comes to their minds for each word you give them. Begin with the word President. Then give pupils the following words: governor, Lincoln, Washington, Franklin Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson. Class members may respond with a name for the word President or governor. Or they may respond with a word which indicates their attitude toward this man or office. Discuss in either case. What names did they write down? Did all who wrote names put down the name of the present holder of the office mentioned? If so, why do so many know the name? If not, why not? If pupils have responded with words expressing attitudes, what attitudes are expressed? Are they all favorable? If so, why? If not, why not? What attitudes are expressed in the words which pupils have put down for the different presidents? Why? Give pupils names of a number of current congressmen. See if they know who these people are. Why do they know them less well than some of the past presidents?	II	
2. Review with students the meaning of the executive process.	II	
3. Have pupils read an account of a day in the life of the President. Or read aloud such an account. Discuss the number of different kinds of jobs which the President does in one day. Make a class list on the chalkboard during this discussion. Have pupils group as many of these jobs as they can under general headings. Each pupil should copy this list of job-roles and add to it as he studies the rest of the unit.	IIA,B,C, IIIA1	Burns and Peltason, Government by the People, 417-419

S. Identifies assumptions.

S. Evaluates sources of information in terms of bias and competency of authors, relevancy (including persuasion devices), consistency and completeness of data.

A. EVALUATES SOURCES OF INFORMATION BEFORE ACCEPTING EVIDENCE OR GENERALIZATIONS.

c. He is the only public official (other than the vice president) who is elected by all of the voters in this country. As a result he has become the symbol of the nation and must act in many ceremonial affairs.

d. He initiates many legislative programs.

e. The President is head of his political party and must try to further its success.

2. State governors and other state executive officials carry out state laws and represent the state in dealings with other states and with the federal government.

3. Cities and towns have an official such as a mayor who has some responsibility for carrying out local ordinances.

4. A pupil might read Bishop's account of one of President Kennedy's days. He should tell the class about other kinds of jobs which Kennedy did which they do not have listed. He might also give one or two examples of jobs already on the class list.	IIA,B,C	Bishop, A Day in the Life of President Kennedy.
5. For one week, have pupils clip articles of news and comment about the President, the state governor, and the local executive. Have them bring the articles to class and report briefly on the contents. Have pupils add to the list of jobs done by the President, placing each under the appropriate job role. Have pupils begin such lists for the governor and the local city or town executive.	IIA,B,C, D,E, IIIA1	
6. Remind pupils that they need to evaluate materials which they read. Review things they should look for in evaluating sources of information. Then give pupils conflicting articles (editorials, letters to editor, magazine news articles) about some current or recent crisis involving a presidential decision. Have pupils analyze the articles for basic assumptions, bias and competency of authors, relevancy of information, and phrases (including persuasion devices such as use of colored words), completeness of data, and consistency. Then rewrite one of the articles or have pupils rewrite it using the same facts but different adjectives and adverbs to show how the use of colored words can change the impact of the articles upon the reader.		

S. Recognizes differences in difficulty of proving statements (distinguishes between facts, inferences, and value judgments).

G4. Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups, including the executive, and is subject to varying influences.
G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.
A. IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA.
A. CONSIDERS GENERALIZATIONS AS TENTATIVE, ALWAYS SUBJECT TO CHANGE IN THE LIGHT OF NEW EVIDENCE.
S. Checks on the bias and competency of authors.
S. Checks on the completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence.

S. Reads for main ideas.

B. The job of the President is a backbreaking one which involves a tremendous burden of responsibility.

7. Now give pupils an exercise in identifying facts, inferences and value judgments presented in these articles. (List some of the sentences in the articles. Pupils should mark each F, I, or V. Then have pupils place a cross in front of the statement which would be hardest to prove.) Discuss pupils' work, clarifying differences.

8. Have pupils read about some current foreign policy crisis in which the President is taking action (or some current state or local crisis facing an executive). Discuss the points at conflict, the alternatives facing the executive, the influences at work in affecting the executive's decision, and the way in which the decision will affect the lives of pupils in the class. Do not have pupils discuss influences on decision-making in detail. Rather, have them make a list to use to check against case studies of other decision-making. Discuss bias and competency of authors. If the executive has not yet made his decision in this current crisis, have several pupils role-play a meeting between the executive and his advisors or the executive and people trying to influence his decision. Have pupils watch papers to see the outcome of the crisis. If the executive has made a decision, have pupils watch newspapers for future developments related to it. Discuss: Why is it difficult at the present time to know all of the factors which affected this decision? IIB, IVB,C XIA1

9. Give pupils a dittoed newspaper ariticle on a current crisis or executive decision. Leave out the headline and first paragraph. Then have pupils read and write a headline and first paragraph to express the main idea in the article. Compare headlines and paragraphs. Which best summarizes the ideas of the article? II

10. Tell pupils that newspapers, books and magazines frequently speak of the Presidency as "the greatest office in the land" and "the highest honor we can give to anyone." Ask: Would you like to be President? Why or why not? After some discussion, tell pupils the salary of the President and the salary of a big corporation president (such as General Motors' president). Now which would students prefer to be? Why? II

A. IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA.

S. Increases understanding of social studies vocabulary.

A. IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA.

G4. Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups, including the executive, and is subject to varying influences.

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

S. Presents effective symposiums.

S. When communicating orally, uses techniques to clarify ideas and arouse interest.

11. Read aloud or have pupils read a series of quotations from Presidents about their views of the Presidency. Discuss the different attitudes about the office. Why did so many past presidents think of the office as a crushing burden? Why did many seek reelection even if they did consider it such a burden? Why did some men like the job despite the burdens?		See appendix.
12. Have pupils begin a dictionary of new terms for this unit.		
13. Have the President of the student council speak to the class. Or have a group of students interview him. How does he like his job? Why? What influences him in his work as President? What problems does he face?	IVC	
14. Have pupils read the "What Would You do?" exercise. If possible, show them pictures of Hiroshima and Nagasaki before they do the reading. Then break the class up into buzz groups to discuss the decisions. Have representatives of each group present the group's decisions to the class for further discussion. If all pupils agree on the same course of action, read aloud quotations from people attacking their decision. After discussing the decision on Hiroshima, ask: If you had been Truman, how would you have felt after seeing the pictures of Hiroshima and Nagasaki? How would you feel as President if you had to make the decision to fire our atomic missiles? Tell class that they will study further most of the actual cases around which these "What Would You Do?" cases were built.	IV, XII	See exercise in appendix. Photos can be found in many places (e.g. Life, Nov. 2, 1962).
15. Ask for volunteers to find out more about the decision to drop the atomic bomb at Hiroshima and to prepare a symposium on it. Review with the class the meaning of symposium. How does it differ from a panel discussion? Discuss ways of preparing and presenting symposiums. What techniques can be used to clarify ideas		

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components each of which affects the other components.

A. IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA.

C. The decisions of the President, the governor, and the local executive official affect the lives of all citizens within their jurisdiction.

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

A. IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA

and arouse interest? Why is careful organization important? Also discuss ways of preparing for role-playing which is not done spontaneously in class. What might be the advantages of such a method of presentation? When might it be used?

16. Discuss Truman's slogan "The Buck Stops Here." Ask pupils to think of all of the excuses they have made in the last week to explain why they have or haven't done something. Do we like to assume responsibility for our actions? Why must the President do so? — II

17. Prepare a bulletin board display highlighting the importance of each of the decisions involved in the case studies to be used in this unit. — XII

18. Tell the class about findings about the attitudes of young children toward their fathers and the President. Why are young children so aware of the President? Why do they have the attitudes they do?

Hess and Easton, "The Child's Changing Image of the President." in Fiszman, ed., The American Political Arena, 2nd ed., 88-100.

19. Discuss with students: How do the President's actions affect pupils in this class? How do the governor's actions affect us? How do the local executive's actions affect us? — XII

20. Give pupils an overview of the unit. Perhaps give them a student unit which includes questions for study and suggested individual and small group activities. As you go over the suggested activities, tell pupils about some of the books or articles which they may use. Perhaps put these books on exhibit in the classroom. Have pupils list their first three choices of unit activities on a piece of paper to be turned in at the end of the class period. Make the assignment of activities with a tentative schedule the next day.

S. Presents effective oral reports.
S. Organizes information according to some logical pattern which fits topic.

S. Uses READERS' GUIDE to locate information.

G4. Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups, including the executive, and is subject to varying influences.
G4b. Any decision is, in part, a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision .
G4c. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers, as well as pressures from outside.
G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.
G4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility, available resources, time, available information, and previous commitments.
G6. Political power is unevenly distributed throughout a population even in a democracy; the concept of political equality

II. The decision to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima illustrates national power within the international system, accommodation without compromise (based on a knowledge of strength), policy making by the President, the differing influences upon Presidential decision-making, limitations affecting decision-making, political power within a country, and interrelationships among different nations of the world.

21. Have pupils think back to oral reports given sc far this year. What can be done to improve them? Discuss importance of organization of reports and types of organization which fit different kinds of topics.

22. Review the use of the Readers' Guide to Periodicial Literature. Project a page dealing with the Little Rock crisis.or the Bay of Pigs and have pupils interpret the abbreviations and tell where they could find material on these topics. Perhaps give pupils an exercise on interpreting an entry in the Guide. (Use an example of a topic to be studied during this unit.)

Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature for 1957 and 1961.

Developmental Activities

23. A group of students should present a symposium on the decision to drop the atomic bomb at Hiroshima. They should also locate and show to the class pictures to illustrate their report--unless pictures were shown earlier in connection with the "What Would You Do" exercise. The symposium members should be sure to discuss the questions raised in the case study. Afterwards discuss the case in terms of policy making (internalized values, other decision-makers-including advisors, limitations upon Presidential decision-making-including permissibility, resources, time, information, and commitments). Have the class analyze the power of the President and of his advisors, including the unofficial advisors of this advisory committee. Discuss the case as an example of national power within the international system and the bases of national power as well as the choice of means of using power in terms of the importance of national goals. Analyze the Japanese surrender in terms of accommodation without compromise when Japan was aware of U.S. strength.

IC2;D2 IVB;C1a3, C1b3;C2b, D2d;D5c; E1a,b; E2,3,4,5; VIA1;B4; VIIB1c; XIA1c;A2b; B2d;XIVB5

West, "The Decision to Drop the Atom Bomb on Hiroshima: A Case Study"

or one man--one vote, ensures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

G11. The international system may be looked at as a series of power relationships.

G1c. Conflict may be ended by accommodation without compromise by one side giving in completely to the other.

G1d. Accommodation between antagonistic parties is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties and of their will to use this strength.

G1h. Every place has three types of location: a position, a site, and a situation.

A. IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA.

S. Identifies and examines basic assumptions.

S. Evaluates information in terms of bias and competency of authors, persuasion devices (relevancy). and completeness of data.

A. EVALUATES INFORMATION AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION BEFORE ACCEPTING

24.	Show pupils the edited film of the NBC television program on the decision to drop the atomic bomb. Compare with the findings presented by students who read the case study. (See activity #23.)	(See Activity 23)	Film: Decision to Drop the Bomb. EBF 35 min.
25.	Have one pupil pretend that he is President Truman and another that he is a newspaper reporter asking Truman about his decision to drop the atomic bomb. Have the two pupils role-play the situation in class.	IVC XIB,C	
26.	A pupil might report to the class on Hersey's Hiroshima.		John Hersey, Hiroshima
27.	Give pupils excerpts from different accounts of the decision to drop the atomic bomb. Have pupils analyze the excerpts to pick out the different assumptions, different biases, and persuasion devices. Remind pupils to use dictionary to look up unknown words. They should add them to their unit vocabulary list.		Edwin Fogelman, ed., Hiroshima: The Decision to Use the A-Bomb. (See articles by Compton, Leahy, Truman and Knebel and Bailey.) See also "Exercise on Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb" in appendix.

EVIDENCE AND GENERALIZATIONS.

A. VALUES OBJECTIVITY AND DESIRES TO KEEP HIS VALUES FROM AFFECTING HIS INTERPRETATION OF EVIDENCE.

S. Increases understanding of social studies vocabulary by using dictionary.

G14. Every place has three types of location: a position, a site, and a situation.

III. The decisions to invade the Bay of Pigs and to quarantine Cuba illustrate almost all aspects of presidential decision-making and power relationships in government and between nations in the international system. They also illustrate both economic and non-economic conflicts between nations and factors leading to compromise. The problems of carrying out the Bay of Pigs invasion illustrates the problems of effectuating policies. The Cuban crises also can be used to teach pupils something about the importance of situational location.

S. Gains information by listening.

A. The Cuban crisis of 1962 raised the threat of atomic war between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

G11. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

28. Have pupils compare their present feelings about the decision to drop the bomb with those they had when they first wrote answers to the "What Would You Do" situations. Perhaps have each of them write his answer again. Discuss any differences which are apparent.

29. Tell pupils that they are now going to read a case study about how Kennedy made a decision which might have led to atomic war with Russia. Show pupils a map and a globe. Have them discuss the strategic location of Cuba as well as its location in respect to trade with the U.S. XIIIA;C1

30. Play part of Kennedy's speech to the nation when he announced the Cuba quarantine. Remind pupils of ways of listening for main ideas, details, and evaluating what they hear. How is this speech designed to persuade listeners? How could Kennedy's decision affect the American people? IA1;IVB; XIIA1;B Recording: John F. Kennedy: Actual Voices Caedmon.

S. Increases understanding of social studies vocabulary through study of context in which words are used.

G13. Every place has three types of location: a position, a site, and a situation.

A. IS CURIOUS ABOUT SOCIAL DATA.

S. Uses READERS' GUIDE to locate information.

31.	Have pupils read and discuss part one of the case study on Cuba. Remind pupils of ways of using context to understand meaning of terms. Pick out examples from this part to illustrate the way in which the context helps. (e.g. p. 1, paragraph 3 "quarantine".)	IA1;IVB; XIIA1;B	West and Rockler, "The Decision to Quarantine Cuba".
32.	Show the class a map of the range of different missiles if they were set up in Cuba. (Use overhead transparency or project map with opaque projector.)	XIIIC	See map in U.S. News and World Report, Nov. 5, 1962.
33.	Show the class the results of the 1965 Minnesota Poll on citizens attitudes toward air raid shelters. What are the two chief reasons why people do not feel it wise to build their own shelters? Remind pupils that more building of shelters was going on prior to the Cuban crisis but that many people felt the same way at that time too. If someone in the local area has an air raid shelter, have pupils interview him on why he built it, when he built it, how he keeps it stocked, what he thinks his chances are for using it in case of an atomic war, how he thinks he would survive afterwards. Or perhaps invite a Civil Defense worker to discuss the question of shelters and survival after an atomic attack.	XIIB	See appendix
34.	Or a pupil or a committee might report on air raid shelters--what they are like, and the pros and cons of building them. They should tell the class about the articles which appeared on air raid shelters and civil defense during the year prior to the Cuban crisis of 1962. (Pupils should use the Readers' Guide to locate articles.)	XIIB	Use Readers' Guide to locate articles on civil defense and air raid shelters during Sept. 1960-Sept. 1962.
35.	Have pupils ask their parents what their reactions were at the time of the Cuba quarantine in the fall of 1962 before Russia backed down. Discuss in class. Also have a pupil interview the junior high school principal if he was in the school at the time or a staff member who was in the school at that time to find out if the local schools made any special preparations at the time of the quarantine. If so, why? If not, why not?	XIIA	

B. Prior to the Bay of Pigs crisis, the United States had intervened a number of times in Latin American affairs to enforce the Monroe Doctrine; it had also dominated Cuban economic and political affairs for many years.

G13. In spite of the earth's diversity, there is an interrelationship of places in the world.
G10. The international system may be looked at as a series of power relationships.
S. Generalizes from data.

G14. Every place has three types of location: a position, a site, and a situation.
G13. In spite of the earth's diversity, there is an interrelationship of places in the world.

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.
G11. The international system may be looked at as a series of power relationships.

C. The United States continued to support the dictator Batista until nearly the end of the Castro revolt.

36.	Have a pupil give a report on our defense system against missiles. How has it changed in recent years?	XIIB	
37.	Read aloud the following quotation from a Chilean poet during the early part of this century: "Two things unite us Spanish Americans--our beautiful Spanish language and our distrust of the United States." Discuss: Why do you think he made this statement? Let pupils make brief guesses and then ask them to read Part II of the case study to see if they can find any reasons for this distrust.	XIVB2	E. West and M. Rockler, "The Decision to Quarantine Cuba"
38.	Have several pupils role-play the following situations: (a) several Cubans discussing the Platt amendment (b) several citizens of Argentina discussing the sending of marines to Haiti and the Dominican Republic in 1915. (c) Roosevelt's announcement of the Good Neighbor Policy and the dropping of the Platt amendment.	XIA1;B1 XIIB	
39.	Have a pupil investigate and report on the Cuban sugar industry. He should discuss the way in which the physical features and climate are conducive to the growing of sugar, but he should also indicate the other kinds of crops which can be grown there. Why did Cuba come to depend so much on one crop? Was it because of the physical features of Cuba or something else? Why is dependence upon one crop a danger? Why didn't Cuba start to diversify its agriculture more before Castro came to power?	XIIIA XIVB1;C2	
40.	Now have pupils read Part III of the case study. Call on several students to role-play the discussion of several Cubans in March of 1958 when the U.S. was still supporting Batista. The students should discuss reactions to Batista, to Castro, and to the United States.	XIB1 XIIB	E. West, M. Rockler, "The Decision to Quarantine Cuba"

G8. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

S. Identifies irrelevancies (persuasion devices such as the use of colored words and phrases.).
A. EVALUATES SOURCES OF INFORMATION BEFORE ACCEPTING EVIDENCE OR GENERALIZATIONS.

S. Reads for main ideas. (Uses introductions, first sentences in paragraphs, and summaries.)
S. Applies previously-learned generalizations to new data.
S. Reads to organize what is read.
S. Generalizes from data.
G1a. In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic.
G2. The executive is a political institution generally representative of the system as a whole; it is charged with the application of public policy and with the external relations of the system.
G3. The separation of powers is built on a an assumption of political functions

D. United States relations with Castro's Cuba went from bad to worse during the Eisenhower administration.

41.	Have a pupil read and report on the Batista government. He should be sure to read some of the criticisms of Batista by Cubans.	VIIIA,B,	
42.	Give pupils an exercise on Time's treatment of Castro. Project an article about Castro during the early days of the revolution and ask: What was the author's attitude toward Castro? How do you know? Have pupils make a list of colored words used to present a favorable impression of Castro. Now project a recent Time article on Castro and ask: What was this author's attitude toward Castro? How do you know? Have pupils make a list of colored words used to present an adverse picture of Castro. Discuss: What did the first article indicate about American opinion toward Castro when he was trying to gain power? What does the second article indicate about what happened to American opinion as represented by Time magazine?		
43.	Have pupils read Part IV of the case study on Cuba. Have them pick out the main idea in each paragraph and then organize their sentences into an outline of the section. (Before they begin, review the use of introductions, first sentences in paragraphs, and summaries in identifying main ideas.) Have each pupil write a headline to summarize the key idea of Part IV. Compare some of the headlines and have pupils choose the best one. Discuss reasons for choice. Also discuss questions raised in this part of the case study.	VIIIA,B, XIBla,b,d XIIB XIIIB	West and Rockler, "The Decision to Quarantine Cuba"

which cannot easily be demonstrated in reality.

G8. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

G11. The international system may be looked at as a series of power relationships.

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

G13. In spite of the earth's diversity, there is an interrelationship of places in the world.

S. Uses READERS' GUIDE to locate information.

G8. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

A. VALUES PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS NEEDED FOR A FAIR TRIAL.

A. HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U.S.

G4c. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers, and to pressures from outside the government.

44.	Have a pupil read and report on the publicity given to the trial and execution of Castro's opponents after Castro came to power. He should use the Readers' Guide to locate information.	VIIIB	Readers' Guide
45.	Have a pupil read and report on the article "I Was a Prisoner in Communist Cuba". Discuss the treatment of Castro's opponents in terms of the attitude toward individuals. How does this attitude compare with ours? Why did reports such as these arouse American opinion against Castro? Why did Cubans think it queer that Americans were upset by Castro's treatment of prisoners?	VIIIA,B	Gibson, "I Was a Prisoner in Communist Cuba," Reader's Digest, April, 1962, pp. 75-80.
46.	Discuss: What effect did the presidential election have upon our relations with Cuba? Play excerpts from Nixon's and Kennedy's statements on Cuba during the TV debates.	IVC2c	Recording: Making of the President, 1960 United Artists

S. Sets up hypotheses and tests against data.

A. RESPECTS EVIDENCE EVEN WHEN IT CONTRADICTS PREJUDICES AND PRE-CONCEPTIONS.

S. Evaluates sources of information in terms of bias and competency of authors.

G1a. In political conflict there is a struggle over scaree values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic.

G4a. A law or policy must be effectuated and applied; in that process the whole decision-making and influence process goes on again.

G4b. Any decision is, in part, a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

G4c. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and to pressures from outside the government.

G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure in which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.

G4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors; permissibility, available resources, available time, available information, and previous commitments.

G6. Political power is unevenly distributed through a population even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man--one vote, ensures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

G9. Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.

E. The attempt to use refugees to invade Cuba at the Bay of Pigs failed.

47. Show pupils several photos of Bay of Pigs invasion. Quote from a statement attacking the invasion as a disastrous decision. Then have pupils read Part V of the case study on Cuba to see if they agree with the quotation. Be sure to discuss the questions in caps. Also discuss the rest of the material unless you are showing the film on the Bay of Pigs invasion. If so, put off the discussion until after the film has been shown.	IA1; IVA3a, e,B,e1b,e2b, c,d,D2d,E1a, b,3,4,5a,b; VIA3,B2,Cb; IXB; XIA1,3, B,2,3; XIIB2,3; XIVB3	West and Rockler, "The Decision to Quarantine Cuba".

G11. The international system may be looked at as a series of power relationships.
G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.
G14. Every place has three types of location: a position, a site, and a situation.
A9. SUPPORTS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION.
A7. SKEPTICAL OF SINGLE-FACTOR THEORIES OF CAUSATION.

See objectives listed for procedure 47.

48. Have a pupil prepare and show the class a graph comparing the refugee and Castro forces at the Bay of Pigs invasion.	XAla,3b		
49. Show the film Cuba: Bay of Pigs . Now discuss the Bay of Pigs decision and the results. Compare the film with the case study account. What were the points of conflict involved between Cuba and the United States? Do you think the Kennedy decision was wise? Why or why not? Do you think Kennedy could have avoided the failure? Why or why not? (Be sure to discuss here the limitations on his decision-making.) If you had been Kennedy, what would you have learned about making foreign policy decisions as a result of this failure? What does the Bay of Pigs invasion indicate about the problems a President has in seeing to it that his policies are carried out? Could the secrecy of the invasion plan have affected the CIA failure to carry out Kennedy's orders? Should the CIA be put in charge of any military attempts? Why or why not? What makes national power in dealings between nations? (Be sure to discuss importance of willingness to use military might.) Why was it unfortunate that some of Kennedy's new advisors were hesitant about giving their views before the decision was made?	Same as for procedure 47	Film:	Cuba: Bay of Pigs (Edited from NBC White Paper). EBF, 29 min.

G4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility, available resources, available time, available information and previous commitments.
G11. The international system may be looked at as a series of power relationships.
G14. Every place has three types of location: a position, a site, and a situation.

S. Interprets cartoons.

Same generalizations as for procedure 47.
S. Evaluates information in terms of bias and competency of author.

50. If you have not used the film on the Bay of Pigs invasion, have a group of students prepare an opaque projection strip on the affair. The strip should include pictures, cartoons, charts, newspaper headlines, etc. The pupils should show the strip to the class, relating it wo what the class members have studied about the crisis. Then discuss the questions suggested in activity 49.	Same as for procedure 47.	
51. Have two pupils present an imaginary interview between President Kennedy and Allan Dulles or Robert Kennedy after the Bay of Pigs failure. Let them try to analyze the reasons for the failure.	IVE XIA1,3 XIVB3	
52. Show pupils a series of cartoons on the Bay of Pigs invasion. Discuss the use of symbols to create the cartoonists' desired impressions. Also discuss the differing points of view expressed. In what kinds of publications (Republican or Democratic) would they expect to have found these cartoons? Tell class where the cartoons appeared.		
53. Perhaps have a student prepare his own cartoon showing differing points of view toward the Bay of Pigs invasion.		
54. Perhaps have several good readers read and compare the accounts of the Bay of Pigs by Sorenson and Schlesinger and tell the class about them. Be sure to discuss the reasons for their conclusions as compared with those of Dulles and Bissell (as reported in the case study).	Same as for procedure #47	Sorenson, Kennedy; Schlesinger, A Thousand Days.

S. Evaluates information in terms of bias and competency of author, persuasion devices, and limitations of data.

S. Identifies and examines assumptions.

S. Relates ideas from reading to ideas acquired from other sources; organizes own structure for topic.

55. Or have pupils read excerpts from different accounts of the Bay of Pigs invasion. These accounts should illustrate different points of view and biases. Have pupils analyze the selections for basic assumptions, bias, and competency of authors, persuasion devices, and limitations of data.

Same as for Excerpts from Sorenson; procedure 47 Schlesinger; Nixon, "Cuba, Castro and John F. Kennedy", Reader's Digest, Nov., 1964, 283-300; Mario, "Decision for Disaster: At Last--The Truth About the Bay of Pigs," Reader's Digest, Sept., 1964.; Johnson, The Bay of Pigs; "The Night the Reds Clinched Cuba," Reader's Digest, Nov., 1962, pp 61-64; Alsop, "The Lesson of the Cuban Disaster," Reader's Digest, Sept. 1 1961, pp. 43-48.

56. Now have pupils use all of their notes on the Bay of Pigs invasion to work out a new outline for the main ideas which should be remembered about this episode.

57. Now ask: From what you have studied so far, what do you think you know about the way in which the federal executive is organized to handle foreign policy and military decisions? Let pupils try to make lists on the board. Now have them read brief descriptions from any of a number of texts or pamphlets as a means of checking their lists and adding to them. Have one student make a chart illustrating the executive organization for handling foreign affairs. Another should make a chart on the executive organization for handling defense. Post both charts together, with a piece of acetate over them. If necessary, use a China marking pencil to show differences in this organization at the time Kennedy was President.) Now discuss: Why is it difficult to handle foreign policy matters in one department? to handle military matters in one department?

For example, see Posey and Huegli, Government for Americans, 210-214; 239-247; Padover, Foreign Affairs, 45-55.

S. Applies previously-learned generalizations.

G1a. In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals; the goals may be economic or non-economic.

G3. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be demonstrated in reality.

G4c. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and to pressures from outside the government.

G4b. Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

G4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility, available resources, available time, available information. and previous commitments.

G4f. An official may experience role conflict because of the many roles he must assume.

G7. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from the government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

G11. The international system may be looked at as a series of power relationships.

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

G14. Every place has three types of location: a position, a site, and a situation.

S. Makes and interprets timelines to help look for relationships among events.

F. The Soviet military build-up in Cuba led to great unease in this country; however, Kennedy refused to act until he had accurate information about offensive missiles.

58. Have pupils read Part VI of the case study on "Crisis in the Making." Discuss: What effects do you think the congressional election campaign might have upon Kennedy's actions in Cuba? If you had been Kennedy and interested in helping your party's candidates would you have acted sooner on Cuba or tried to delay any decision about what to do in the face of the Russian military build-up? How easy do you think it is to distinguish between offensive and defensive military weapons? Why would both Kennedy and Khrushchev find it difficult to back down on their promises about Cuba? Why do you think the Latin American countries opposed American intervention in Cuba at this time?

I A1
III D4
IV B; C1, 2a,c; F1b, d; F2
VII A2;B2
X A3a;
XI A1, 2; B4
XI A3, 4a, b
XIII C1

Abel & Bockler, "The Decision to Quarantine Cuba"

59. Have class members make timelines of some of the events in their own lives (e.g. birth, first day of school, entering the seventh grade, present date) so that they will understand the use of scale on a timeline. Have them also enter the dates for Castro's coming to power, the Bay of Pigs invasion, and the Cuban crisis of 1962. Now have pupils make a timeline to show events they have studied thus far in the case

S. Sets up hypotheses.

G1. In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic.

G1d. Accommodation between antagonistic parties is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties and of their will to use this strength.

G4b. Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

G4c. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and to pressures from outside the government.

G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.

G4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility, available resources, available time, available information, and previous commitments.

G5. The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesion and must also organize its strategies or provide intellectual leadership.

G6. Political power is unevenly distributed through

G. Kennedy was finally faced with clear evidence of the building of missile bases in Cuba; he and his advisors considered all possible alternatives and then decided to quarantine Cuba.

study on Cuba. Have them make another timeline of the events during the week of decision and the week of crisis, as they read the appropriate parts of the case study.

"The Decision to Quarantine Cuba"

60. Several students might prepare a bulletin board display on the Cuban crisis of 1962.

61. Have pupils read the first section of Part VII of the case study on Cuba (up to the discussion of the alternatives by the group of advisors). Discuss: Why do you think Khrushchev dared put missile bases in Cuba? (Bring out the chances of resort to force if one country does not think that another will use the military strength that it has.) Do you think it was democratic for Kennedy to give so much power to this small group of advisors in discussing the alternative courses of action? Do you think it was democratic for him to keep the missile bases secret and decide on a course of action in secret? Does the citizen in this country have any more influence over executive decisions than Cuban citizens do? Why or why not? Suppose the U-2 pictures had shown that the intermediate-range missile bases would be ready for firing within two days. What effect do you think this would have had upon Kennedy's actions? How did Kennedy's information resources compare in this crisis with those which he had when he made the Bay of Pigs decision? Why do you think the President used this particular group of advisors rather than his cabinet?

1A1;B2,D1,2;
IVE1b, 2b,
D3a,E3,4;
VA,B3,4;
VIA1,2,B1,
C1;
VIIB1,C3

a population even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man -- one vote ensures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

G7. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

A. HAS A REASONED LOYALTY TO THE U.S.

S. Sets up hypotheses.

A. IS COMMITTED TO THE FREE EXAMINATION OF IDEAS.

G4. Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups, and is subject to varying influences.

G5. The leadership of a group must try to maintain group cohesion and must also organize its strategies or provide intellectual leadership.

G11. The international system may be looked at as a series of power relationships.

G14. Every place has three types of location: a position, a site, and a situation.

G6. Political power is unevenly distributed through a population even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man--one vote ensures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

G7. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

62. Show pupils pictures of the U-2 photos which showed the building of missile sites. Discuss: Why do you think it took a whole day for the experts to analyze these photos? Why do you think Kennedy did not wish to make these photos public at first? What value do you think enlargements of these photos could have in our relations with other countries?

VII B1 — Life, Nov 2, 1962.

63. Now have pupils read the rest of Part VII of the case study. Have each pupil prepare a chart showing each alternative course of action and the pros and cons for that alternative.

IV C1a; 2b, c; D2d, 3b; E1a, b, d; 2a; 3; 4; 5a, b, c
VA, B
VI A1, 2
VII A, B1, 2
IX B
XI A1, 2, 3, 4; B1, 2, 3, 4
XIV C1

West and Rockler, "The Decision to Quarantine Cuba."

S. Checks on the bias and competency of authors.

A. SUPPORTS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION.

G1b. Political compromise consists of bringing various conflicting political interests or positions into a commonly acceptable intermediate position.

G1d. Accommodation between antagonistic parties is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parites and of their willingness to use this strength.

64. Several pupils might read the Sorenson, Schlesinger, Abel, and Salinger accounts of the Cuban Crisis of 1962. Someone might also read the account by Daniel and Hubbell. These pupils should compare these accounts with the material in the case study. Be sure to have them analyze the bias and competency of the accounts.	Same as for procedure 63.	Sorenson, Kennedy; Schlesinger, A Thousand Days; Abel, The Missile Crisis; Salinger, With Kennedy; Daniel and Hubbell, "While America Slept: The Complete Story of the Cuban Crisis," Reader's Digest, March, 1963, pp. 60-66, 239-286.
65. Have a small group of students role-play the discussions of Kennedy's advisors which led up to the quarantine decision.	Same as for procedure 63.	
66. Tell the class that after the Cuban crisis, a reporter attacked Stevenson for his advice in favor of diplomacy and caution. Kennedy did not come to Stevenson's defense. What could be the effect of severe criticism of a presidential assistant who speaks in favor of an unpopular point of view? Should reporters criticize presidential advisors or U.S. officials?		
67. Have pupils read Part VIII of the case study dealing with "A Week of Crisis," Discuss: Suppose you had been Kennedy. Would you have made any different decision about what to do when the U-2 was shot down? Why or why not? Would you have made any different decision about agreeing not to invade Russia in return for its withdrawal of missiles? Why or why not? Why do you think Khrushchev agreed to the compromise?	I A1; B1, 2; D1, 2 IV A3; B; C1a; 2a, b, c; D3, 5; E1a, B, d; 2a; 3; 4;	West and Rockler, "The Decision to Quarantine Cuba"

G4a. A law or policy must be effectuated and applied; in that process the whole decision-making and influence process goes on again.

G4b. Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decisinn.

G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas within which the authoritative decisinns of the political process are made.

G4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors; permissibility, available resources, available time, available information, and previous commitments.

G6. Political power is unevenly distributed through a population even in a democracy; the concept of one-man--one vote ensures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

G7. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

G11. The international system may be looked at as a series of power relationships.

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

G9. Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.

S. Applies previously-learned generalizations and concepts.

How did Kennedy try to build support for his policies? The Constitution says that Congress shall declare war. In this case who actually had the greatest power to decide whether or not we would get involved in an atomic war? Why did he have this power? Do you think that it was important for Kennedy to pay so much attention to world opinion? Why or why not?

VIA1; VIIA,B2
IXB; XIA1,2,3,
4;B1,2,3,4;
XIIA1,B

G4. Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups, including the executive, and is subject to varying influences.

A. IS SKEPTICAL OF SINGLE-CAUSE THEORIES OF CAUSATION, IS EQUALLY SKEPTICAL OF PANACEAS.

A. FEELS A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR KEEPING INFORMED ABOUT CURRENT PROBLEMS.

S. Uses READERS' GUIDE to locate information.

68. Have a committee put on a mock Presidential press conference held immediately after the Cuban quarantine. The reporters should ask a series of questions about why Kennedy did not act sooner after Keating's warnings, about the evidence of the missile sits, about why Kennedy did not take other actions, etc.	Same as for procedure 67
69. Have a group of students prepare a series of news broadcasts to the American people during the week of the Cuban crisis. They should read more newspaper and magazine accounts to give them more examples of items to include which cannot be found in the case study.	
70. Have a committee prepare a mock newspaper which might have appeared right after the Cuban crisis (editorials, background articles, cartoons, news articles, artiicles on reactions from other countries, etc.).	
71. Review the questions at the end of the case study on the influences and limitations at work in the making of the decision.	IVA3e, C1a,b,2a, b,c,d,D2d,3a,b,5; E1a,b,d,2a,3,4, 5a,b,c
72. Discuss: Do you think you can assign any one factor as the cause of the Cuban crisis of 1962? Do you think that the quarantine decision solved the problem of Cuban-American relations?	
73. Have a committee investigate the Cuban situation since the Cuban crisis of 1962. What has happened to Cuban-Russian relations? to Cuban-American relations? to the refugee situation? to Cuban domestic economic affairs? to Cuban domestic political affairs? (Pupils should use the Readers' Guide to locate information.)	Readers' Guide

8. Relates ideas from reading to ideas acquired from other sources and organizes own structure for topic.

G2. The executive is a political institution generally representative of the system as a whole; it is charged with the application of public policy and with the external relations of the system.

G4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility, available information, available resources, available time, and previous commitments.

III. The Little Rock crisis illustrates both presidential and gubernatorial decision-making, types of non-economic conflict, and problems arising under federalism.

A. The Little Rock crisis developed over a non-economic conflict between Negroes and whites; it also involved a conflict between state and federal powers.

74.	Now have pupils use all of their notes on the crisis of 1962 and organize their own outline for this episode.		
75.	Show a film on Kennedy. Discuss: Does this film add anything to what you have already found about the job of the President? What qualities did Kennedy have that helped him fill this job? Kennedy apparently enjoyed being President. Why do you think he enjoyed the job when he had to work so hard and make such difficult decisions?	V	e.g. Kennedy: What Is Remembered and Never Lost, edited from NBC program. EBF, 25 min.
76.	Have several pupils read the article on "Should We Build the Nike-A?" and perhaps some more recent articles on the question. Let them assume the roles of the Secretary of Defense, the President, and a top missile scientist and discuss the pros and cons of this question. Afterwards, discuss: What are the chief issues involved in this question? (Be sure to bring out the economic problem of scarce resources as a limiting factor in decisions.)	VIIc,d; 2b,4	"Should We Build the Nike A?" Reader's Digest, March, 1966, pp. 77-81.
77.	Tell pupils that they will now study how another President handled a different kind of crisis, this time one dealing with affairs within the country. (Define domestic affairs.) Ask: How many of you know anything about Little Rock, Arkansas? What do you know about Little Rock? If class members did not study the Project Social Studies course last year, ask them why they think they remember anything about the school integration crisis (if they do) when it took place when they were so young. If they studied the Project Social Studies course last year, find out what they remember about Little Rock. Tell pupils that his case deals with desegregation in schools. Be sure that this term is defined before pupils begin reading.		

S. Sets up hypotheses.

G1. All societies have potential conflict among their members and must work out some means of accommodating differences.

G1a. In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic.

G8. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

A. DESIRES TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS.

78. Since pupils are too young to remember much if anything about President Eisenhower, have a committee prepare a bulletin board about his chief exploits. This display should make the case study more interesting to pupils. Or have a pupil give a report on Eisenhower's earlier background, particularly his military reputation.

For example, see Gunther, Eisenhower.

79. Prepare a bulletin board showing pictures of the federal troops in Little Rock. Call the bulletin board to the attention of pupils before they begin to read the case study. (Or project pictures with opaque projector.) Ask: Can you think of any reason why the President might send federal troops to this school? Is it the job of the federal government to protect schools or patrol school grounds? Can you think of any power which might give the President the right to send federal troops into a state to patrol a school area? (Do not attempt to answer these questions in any final way. Just get pupils to make guesses at this time. Suggest that they check their gusses as they study the case study.)

XB

e.g. See Bates, The Long Shadow of Little Rock, inserts following p. 174.

80. Have pupils read the introduction to the case study on Little Rock. Discuss: How would you have felt if you had been a white pupil in Little Rock high school that day? If you had been a Negro pupil? Have pupils compare the different accounts by magazines (quoted in the different forms of the case study). Discuss: What were the conflict issues in this situation?

IA1; XIIA1

West and Rockler, "The Little Rock Crisis", Forms A,B,C

S. Identifies and examines basic assumptions.

S. Evaluates information for bias and competency of authors and for completeness of data.

G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political system are made.

G2. The executive is a political institution generally representative of the system as a whole; it is charged with the application of public policy and with the external relations of the system.

G9. Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.

B. The Constitution was changed first by the 14th amendment and then by differing interpretations of this amendment. The Supreme Court finally interpreted the amendment to mean that segregated schools are unconstitutional.

G9. Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.

G3. The separation of powers is built on

81.	Bring in excerpts from different letters, magazines, and newspaper articles dealing with the first days of federal troops at Little Rock. Have pupils analyze them in terms of basic assumptions, the bias and competency of authors, completeness of data, and use of colored words and phrases.	IV B2; XB	e.g. See Time, Oct. 7, 1957, p. 22.; Record and Record, eds. Little Rock U.S.A., 181-182, 231-232,
82.	If pupils have not studied minority problems in the Project Social Studies seventh grade course, you may wish to undertake several activities here to arouse pupil interest in and concern about school integration issues. Perhaps you will want to show a film. Or you may wish to use one or more of the activities suggested in the seventh grade unit on minority problems.		
83.	Read aloud the provision of the 14th amendment which was at issue in the school integration cases. Ask: Do you think this constitutional provision makes it illegal to have segregated schools? Why or why not? Do not tell pupils about the Supreme Court decision. Instead suggest they find out whether the Supreme Court has agreed with their interpretation of the clause.		
84.	Have pupils read Part I of the case study on Little Rock. Discuss: Why do you think the Supreme Court reversed its interpretation of the 14th amendment? What role was the Supreme Court assuming when it made its decision in the Brown case? (Making law? interpreting law? or both?) Why do you think the Supreme	IIIA4; IVC1,D1b; VIIIB; IXC; XA1 XIIA5	West and Rockler, "The Little Rock Crisis" Forms A,B,C

an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be demonstrated in reality.

G8. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.

G4b. Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision. (The attitudes of the decision-maker affect the access which he grants different groups.)

G10. Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences and autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency, diversity and competition.

S. Sets up hypotheses and tests them.

A. IS COMMITTED TO THE FREE EXAMINATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND DATA. SEARCHES ACTIVELY FOR DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW AND INTERPRETATIONS.

A. IS COMMITTED TO THE FREE EXAMINATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND DATA. SEARCHES ACTIVELY FOR DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW AND INTERPRETATIONS.

C. The school board of Little Rock developed a plan for gradual integration of the schools; this plan was approved and ordered into effect by the federal court. The NAACP thought the plan too slow; the violent segregationists thought it went too far.

Court came up with such a general phrase as: "with all deliberate speed "? Can you think of any problems which might arise because they used such a general phrase? Suppose that you had been a southern white person at the time of this decision. How do you think you would have reacted to it? Why? (Perhaps read aloud headlines of newspaper articles which appeared in southern and northern newspapers at the time of the Brown decision.) Why do you think the NAACP tried to get what they wanted through federal courts rather than by influencing state ligislatures or local school boards?

85. Have pupils read Part II of the case study (dealing with the school board's plan for gradual integration). Call on several students and have them role-play a discussion of the plan by white citizens of Little Rock. The group should include several violent segregationists and several people who support

IIIA4; VIIIB; XA1,2

West and Rockler, "The Little Rock Crisis", Forms A,B,C
Blossum, It Has Happened Here.

A. DESIRES TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES.

G3. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be demonstrated in reality.

G8. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

G10. Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences and autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency, diversity, and competition.

G4a. A law or policy must be effectuated and applied; in that process the whole decision-making and influencing process goes on again.

G4b. Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

G4f. An official may experience role conflict because of the many roles which he must assume.

G6. Political power is unevenly distributed through a ppulation even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man--one vote ensures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

D. Governor Faubus was torn by a number of conflicting influences. At first he refused to take any position; then he called out the national guard to prevent violence and keep the Negro children out of the white high school.

the plan. Now have another group of students assume the roles of local NAACP leaders. They should discuss the merits and drawbacks of the plan and also their reactions to Superintendent Blossum's actions. Read aloud to the class a brief excerpt from Blossum's book about the crisis. What was his attitude toward desegregation? Why did he make the public comments that are quoted in the case study? Discuss: Did any of the dangers which you thought possible yesterday (procedure 84) actually become realities? Was the school board engaged in making policy or carrying it out? What function was the Court engaging in when it approved the school board's plan?

86. Have pupils read Part III of the case study. Discuss: Why do you think Governor Faubus hesitated to take any stand at first and then refused to make the statement requested by the school board? (Discuss role of interest groups as well as his own attitudes and the forthcoming election.) Do you think it could have made any difference that a northern judge was presiding over the federal court that heard the case? Why or why not?

IVA1,2 C1,2c,E1, F; VIA,E1 2; XA1,2; XIIA1

West and Rockler, "The Little Rock Crisis", Forms A,B,C

S. Checks on the bias and competency of authors.

G2. The executive is a political institution generally representative of the system as a whole; it is charged with the application of public policy and with the external relations of the system.

G2. The executive is a political institution generally representative of the system as a whole; it is charged with the application of public policy and with the external relations of the system.
G8. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.
G11. The international system may be looked at as a series of power relationships. (National power is affected by the attitudes of other countries toward the nation.)
A. DESIRES TO PROTECT MINORITY RIGHTS.
A. IS COMMITTED TO THE FREE EXAMINATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND DATA. SEARCHES ACTIVELY FOR DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW AND INTERPRETATIONS.

87. Have a pupil give a report on Governor Faubus. He should elaborate upon the material in the case study. He should also try to use both favorable and critical sources and report on their differences in view.

88. Tell pupils that Faubus then called out the national guard and stationed it at the school to prevent the violence which he said he expected. Ask: Suppose you had been Governor Faubus. Legally, what orders do you think you should have given the troops? (Do not tell pupils what orders were given. Rather tell them that they will find out by reading the next part of the case study.) — IID

89. Have pupils read Part IV of the case study on the use of the national guard to keep the Negro children out of school. Show pupils pictures with the opaque projector (or on bulletin board) of the national guard troops keeping out the Negro pupils. Have several pupils role-play a discussion of several of the Negro students about the first morning's incidents. Discuss: Why did some southern newspapers dislike Faubus' action? Why did some people feel that the action hurt the U.S. in our relations with other countries? — IID; VIIIB; XB; XIA4; XIIA4 — West and Rocker, "The Little Rock Crisis", Forms A,B,C

G8. The contrast between democratic and non-democratic political systems may be looked at as a conflict in basic underlying values.

A. DESIRES TO PROTECT MINORITY RIGHTS.

S. Interprets cartoons.

G4a. A law or policy must be effectuated and applied; in that process the whole decision-making and influence process goes on again.

G4b. Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

E. President Eisenhower tried to persuade Faubus to obey the federal law and enforce the federal court decision; Faubus still hesitated until the court issued an injunction against him. Then he withdrew the national guard rather than use it to enforce the court order.

G1a. In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic.

G4b. Any decision is, in part, a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

G4f. An official may experience role conflict because of the many roles he must assume.

90. Have a pupil read and report on Elizabeth Eckford's account of the events of the morning. Another pupil might report on Benjamin Fine's reactions as told to Daisey Bates.	VIIIB	Both accounts are found in Bates, The Long Shadow of Little Rock, pp. 72-76, 69-71.
91. Show pupils a series of cartoons which appeared after the use of the national guard at Little Rock. Have pupils analyze the use of symbols and other persuasion devices as well as the points of view expressed. Tell pupils where the cartoons were published. (Try to include some published in southern as well as northern papers.)		
92. Have pupils read Part V of the case study through the section dealing with the Newport meeting. Discuss: What attitudes of the President might affect his decision to take action in Little Rock? Would all of his attitudes influence him to either take strong action or not take any action?	IVA1b, 2; C1a1)a) C5	West and Rockler, "The Little Rock Crisis", Forms A,B,C
93. Have several pupils read further about the Newport meeting. They should role-play the meeting between Eisenhower and Faubus	IVA1,2,3e C1a,2b, E1a,5a, F1b,2c	"Brooks Hays Tells Inside Story of Little Rock," U.S. News and World Report, March 23, 1959, 118-135.

G4a. A law or a policy must be effectuated and applied; in that process the whole decision-making and influence process goes on again.

A. DESIRES TO PROTECT MINORITY RIGHTS.

S. Distinguishes between relevant and irrelevant information. (Identifies colored words used to persuade.)

S. Checks on the bias and competency of the author.

S. Checks on the completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence.

S. Checks on the completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence.

S. Checks on the bias and competency of authors.

G1d. Accommodation between antagonistic parties is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties and of their will to use this strength.

G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.

G4c. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers as well as to pressures from the outside.

G10. Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences and autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency, diversity, and competition.

94. Give pupils excerpts from some of the articles which appeared in magazines after the Newport meeting. Have pupils identify the colored words and phrases used to influence the attitudes of the reader. What is the bias of the author of each article? Does the author present the complete picture of what happened? Also read aloud some of the other headlines which appeared.

e.g. See Time, Sept.23, 1957, p. 11, pp. 11-12.

95. Tell pupils that accounts of what Faubus and Eisenhower agreed to differ. Discuss: Why is it difficult to know for sure just what agreement they reached? (Note fact that we can have no eyewitness accounts except by Eisenhower and Faubus for part.) How might the failure to settle clearly the matter of timing affect Faubus' decision when he returned home? How did federalism affect the President's ability to get his wishes carried out?

ID2; IVA3e; C2b,D2 XB

G1. All societies have potential conflict among their members and must work out some means of accommodating differences.

G4b. Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.

G2.. The executive is a political institution generally representative of the system as a whole; it is charged with the application of public policy and with the external relations of the system.

G7. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

G10. Federalism pays greater homage than unitary systems to local differences and autonomy, but it also pays the greater price in inconsistency, diversity, and competition.

G4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility, available resources, available time, available information, and previous commitments.

G6. Political power is unevenly distributed through a population in a democracy.

G7. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may

F. Violence broke out at the school when the national guard troops were withdrawn and the Negroes went to the high school. President Eisenhower sent federal troops to preserve law and order.

96. Now have pupils read the rest of Part V on the court actions, Faubus' withdrawal of the guard, the violence which broke out and Eisenhower's decision. Show pictures of the violence. Discuss: Do you think Fautus wished to prevent the violence? Why or why not? The mayor, the police chief, and the superintendent of schools all testified in court that there was no danger of violence. Do you think that the violence justified Faubus' stand and proved that these witnesses were badly mistaken? Do you think some writers are correct in saying that Faubus hoped to create the violence? Do you think Eisenhower made the right decision? Why or why not?

IA1,C1,D2
IIA;
IVA1,2,3,
C1a, D2,
E1a,3,5,
F1a,b,2;
VIIA;
XB; XIIA
3,5

West and Rockler, "The Little Rock Crisis", Forms A,B,C
For pictures, see magazines of that date and Bates, Long Shadow of Little Rock, insert following p. 174.

move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

A. DESIRES TO PROTECT MINORITY RIGHTS.

S. Evaluates sources of information in terms of relevance (persuasion devices and completeness of data.

A. IS COMMITTED TO THE FREE EXAMINATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND DATA. SEARCHES ACTIVELY FOR DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW AND INTERPRETATIONS.

A. VALUES INDEPENDENT THOUGHT.

G1a. In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic.

G1c. Conflict may be ended by accommodation without compromise, by one side giving in completely to the other.

97. Have pupils look more carefully at Faubus' statement after his lawyers left the court. Pupils should examine it in terms of colored words and completeness of data.

98. Have a pupil draw a series of cartoons showing different points of view toward Faubus' action in withdrawing the guard and towards Eisenhower's action in sending federal troops.

99. Have a committee prepare a mock newspaper which might have appeared after the Little Rock crisis. It would include news articles, editorials, letters to the editor, background articles, interviews with such people as Faubus, the President, Negro students at Little Rock, white citizens at Little Rock, etc. Ditto copies for class members or post on bulletin board.

100. Use the questions at the end of the case study to summarize what pupils have learned thus far about decision-making. Also discuss: Does this case of decision-making make you change your mind any about conclusions you reached about decision-making as a result of your study of the Cuban decisions? Why didn't this conflict between Eisenhower and Faubus end in a compromise rather than accommodation without compromise? Why do you think Faubus held out for so long before giving way? Also ask: How do you think Eisenhower's actions might affect Presidential decisions in similar cases in the future?

IA1,D1,2
IVA2,C1a,
2b,d,D2e,
F1a,d,2,3,
5a,b

G1d. Accommodation between antagonistic parties is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of both parties and of their will to use this strength.

G4a. A law or policy must be effectuated and applied; in that process the whole decision-making and influence process goes on again.

G4b. Any decision is in part a product of of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

G4c. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and to pressures from outside the government.

G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.

G4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility, available resources, available time, available information, and previous commitments.

G1. All societies have potential conflict and must work out some means of accommodating differences.

G1a. In political conflict there is a a struggle over scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic.

IV. Governor Freeman of Minnesota sent the national guard to Albert Lea, declared martial law, and closed the Wilson Co. plant after violence broke out during a strike. Later the federal court decided that Freeman had exceeded his legal power and ordered that plant reopened.

101. Now tell the class that a committee will report on another governor's use of the national guard in time of violence. Have a committee present a symposium on Freeman's decision to send the guard to Albert Lea during the Wilson Co. strike.	IA1; IID; IVA1,3, C1a,b,c, 2b,d,D2g, E1a,2,3,4; VIB; VIIA; XIIA1,3	West and Rockler, "And So I Acted-Governor Freeman Uses National Guard Troops During a Strike."

G4a. A law or a policy must be effectuated and applied; in that process the whole decision-making and influence process goes on again.

G4b. Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

G4c. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers as well as to pressures from outside the government.

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.

G4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility, available resources, available time, available information, and previous commitments.

G2. The executive is a political institution generally representative of the system as a whole; it is charged with the application of public policy.

S. Presents effective symposiums.

C1a. In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic.

132. Pupils might role-play a series of interviews between a reporter and Freeman, the manager of the Wilson Co., a leader of the labor union, and the Albert Lea mayor on their reactions to the closing of the plant. IA1

G4a. A law or a policy must be effectuated and applied; in that process the whole decision-making and influence process goes on again.
G4b. Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.
G4c. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers as well as to pressures from outside the government.
G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.
G4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility, availalbe time, available resources, available information, and previous commitments.

S. Uses READERS' GUIDE to locate information.
S. Presents effective symposiums.
G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.
G14. Every place has three types of location: a position, a site, and a situation.
G4. Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups, including the executive, and is subject to varying influences.

V. There are many other examples of Presidential decision-making related to foreign affairs.
A. A revolt in the Dominican Republic led President Johnson to send our marines into the country to keep the rebels from taking power.

104. Have a group of students investigate the Dominican crisis of 1965. Using a symposium they should tell the class about events leading up to U.S. intervention, about the President's decision, and about what has happened since that time. Discuss the crisis in terms of the importance of the country's location, the interdependence of countries, and the influences and limitations upon presidential decision-making. Also discuss: Do you think the Bay of Pigs failure had any effect upon Johnson's decision? Why or why not? What sources of national power did the U.S. have in this situation which it did not have in the Bay of Pigs situation? Did Congress declare war? If not, how did our troops get to the Dominican Republic? Do you think the President should have so much power to commit us to war? Can you think of any other way of handling foreign

IA1; IIB; IVB,C1a, b,D2d,3, E1a,b,d, 2f,4,F1,2; VIA; VIIA, B1,2; IXB; XIA1,4; XIIB; XIVA,C

Readers' Guide

G6 Political power is unevenly distributed through a population even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man--one vote, ensures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

G7. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

G9. Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.

G11. The international system may be looked at as a series of power relationships.

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

G14. Every place has three types of location: a position, a site and a situation.

G4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility, available resources, available time, available information, and previous commitments.

G7. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

G11. The international system may be looked at as a series of power relationships.

B. President Johnson has committed more and more troops to South Viet Nam in an effort to prevent a communist take-over in that country.

affairs and the use of our armed forces? Would there be any problems which might arise because of this alternative? (Discuss the factor of time in a crisis such as this one and the problems of citizens making decisions without intelligence reports. Pupils will need to use the Readers' Guide to locate articles about the crisis.)

105. If pupils have not studied the Viet Nam crisis earlier, have all of them or a small committee investigate the Viet Nam crisis. After pupils have discussed the crisis and alternative courses of action facing the President, discuss how previous commitments by past Presidents affected Johnson's decisions. Also discuss the way in which Johnson tried to build public support for his policies. Why is the U.S. interested in Viet Nam? How are American citizens affected by what goes on there and by the President's decision? How has the use of military power there affected decisions about the draft?

Readers' Guide

XIBb;
XIIIB4;
XIIIC5;
VIIA4;
XA1,2,3,
4;B1,2,
XI Bb
IA1
II B
IV B; C1a,
b; 2a, c;
D2d, 3;
E1a, b, c,
d; e; 4; 5a;
b; F1a, c, d;
2b

G1a In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic.

G2. The executive is a political institution generally representative of the system as a whole; it is charged with the application of public policy and with the external relations of the system.

G6. Political power is unevenly distributed even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man -- one vote ensures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

G9. Constitutions change by formal amendment and by changes in custom and interpretation.

S. Presents effective oral reports.

G2. The executive is a political institution generally representative of the system as a whole; it is charged with the application of public policy and with the external relations of the system.

G3. The separation of powers is built on an a assumption of political functions which cannot easily be demonstrated in reality.

G4c. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers as well as to pressures from outside the government.

G4b. Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

G4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility, available resources, available time, available information, and previous commitments.

C. President Truman fired MacArthur from the UN command in Korea because MacArthur failed to follow orders.

VIA1, 2; B
VIIA, B
IXB
XIA1, 2, 4;
B1, 3, 4
XIIA1, B
XIIA, B, C

106. Have a pupil give a brief oral report on General MacArthur as a war hero in World War II and the early part of the Korean War. Now the teacher might present an informal lecture on Truman's firing of MacArthur. He should point out the number of times when MacArthur failed to obey orders earlier, Truman's reluctance to fire him both because he felt he needed him and because of public opinion, and the reaction to the firing. He should tell pupils about the Congressional investigation which made it necessary for Truman to tell about his plans for making peace in Korea. Or show the film "The War in Korea," which includes an account of the controversy. Discuss: What effect might Truman's disclosure of his plans have upon peace negotiations? Should the President have the right to discharge military generals? Why or why not? What effect does the power to remove an official give the President over this official? Why do you think MacArthur disobeyed orders earlier since the President could remove him?

IA2b; C
IIB
IIIB1
IVA3d, e; C1, 2c, d; D2d;
E1a, d;
F1, 2
VIA1, 2; D3
VIIB1
VIIA2

See **Neustadt**, Presidential Power. (Use index to locate scattered pages.)
Rovere and Schlesinger, The MacArthur Controversy.
Film: The War in Korea (N.B.C. program) E.B.F. 84 min.
The pupils should use a biography or encyclopedia for the report.

G4a. A law or policy must be effectuated and applied; in that process the whole decision-making and influence process goes on again.

G6. Political power is unevenly distributed through a population ever in a democracy.

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

G7. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

S. Presents effective oral reports.

G3. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be demonstrated in reality.

D. The President's power over foreign relations is limited by Congressional powers and actions.

S. Presents effective oral reports.

107. A student might give an oral report on the novel Seven Days In May.	VI	Knebel and Bailey, Seven Days In May.
108. Tell the class that it has just seen an example of one way in which Congress may affect our relations with other countries, including the making of treaties. Now have pupils skim through the list of powers granted to Congress by the federal Constitution. Ask: What other powers does Congress have which would make it possible for them to affect our relations with other countries? (Be sure to discuss the power to levy tariffs, the power to ratify or turn down treaties, and the power over appropriating money. The chances are that pupils will not identify the last power as one which can affect our foreign relations. So set up an imaginary example of a Presidential request for foreign aid for a specific purpose. Or use an actual example. Then ask pupils how Congress might affect our foreign policy. Also ask: How might the power of Congress affect the Presidents' relations with Congressional leaders?)	IIID1, 2,3	
109. A student might give an oral report on the novel Night at Camp David.	VI	Knebel, Night at Camp David.

G4c. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and to pressures from people outside the government.

G6. Political power is unevenly distributed through a population even in a democracy.

VI. The President heads many administrative departments and bureaus and affects the action of independent regulatory agencies through his powers of appointment and over the budget.

A. His power to appoint and his power to remove some officials gives him a certain amount of power over these officials; however, he must also consider the effects of removing them.

G3. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be demonstrated in reality.

G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.

G4c. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and to pressure from people outside of government.

G4b. Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

G4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility, available resources, available information, available time, and previous commitments.

G6. Political power is unevenly distributed even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man -- one vote ensures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

B. Administrative officials in the executive department are also subjected to pressure from Congress and from workers in their departments or bureaus.

110. Tell the class that they have seen how the President can remove a general from office. Tell pupils more about the President's power of removal. (Point out the difference here between removing cabinet officials and members of regulatory commissions or civil service appointees.) Now set up a hypothetical situation in which a Secretary of State refuses to carry out an order because he dislikes it. Why might the President hesitate to fire him? Why might he hesitate to fire an Attorney General who objects to some policy? Also discuss: How can the President's power to appoint give him influence? What are the limitations upon this influence?

IIA2
IVC2d;
E2c
VID3

111. Tell the class or have a pupil investigate and tell the class about some of the controversy between Secretary of Defense MacNamara and Congress. Include such disputes as those over the TFX contract, the closing of military bases, and the attempt to combine national guard units and reserve forces. Discuss: What interest groups try to influence a cabinet member if they cannot threaten to defeat him in an election? What political norms did MacNamara break when he failed to consult ahead of time with appropriate congressional committees about the reserve-guard units? MacNamara has been called one of the two or three most influential cabinet members under both Kennedy and Johnson. Why is he so influential? Is it just because of the cabinet position which he holds?

IIIB3, 5
IVC1b,
2b; D1,
5b; E1c;
2b
VIA2; B

Use Readers' Guide to locate information.

G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.

G4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility, available resources, available time, available information, and previous commitments.

G5. The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesion and must also organize its strategies to provide intellectual leadership.

G3. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

G6. Political power is unevenly distributed even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man -- one vote ensures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.

G5. The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesion and must also organize its strategies or provide intellectual leadership.

G2. The executive is a political institution generally representative of the system as a whole; it is charged with the application of public policy and with the external relations of the system.

C. The number of [illegible] government workers has increased sharply in [illegible] years. This places a [illegible] President,

112. Tell the class briefly how the President sets up a budget for the different departments. What factors must he consider? (e.g. available resources, public opinion, goals, etc.) Point out that Congressional committees then hold hearings on the budget and ask department and bureau heads to appear to testify. These committees will be very important in determining the final appropriation which the bureau will get. Discuss: How does the President's budget power affect his ability to get bureau heads to do certain things? How does Congress' control over appropriations weaken the President's control over his administrative bureau chiefs? (Also discuss importance of lack of power to use item veto over final appropriations bills.)

IIIB5
IVD4
E1d; 2b
VB5
VID3

113. Discuss: What do you think might happen to the morale of bureau workers if a bureau chief testified before Congress that funds for his bureau should be reduced? Suppose you were a bureau chief and the President asked you to reduce your request for next year and to defend this lower budget request before Congress. What would you do? Why? (Also discuss: Why is morale important?)

IVD3c
VD2
VID1

114. Have pupils read a brief description of the number of departments and bureaus which the President heads. Show a graph on the increasing number of federal government workers over the years. Also show the number of pages devoted to executive agencies in the U.S. Government Manual. Discuss: Can the President really oversee all of these people? How must he try to give direction to

IIA1
IIIB2
VB1
VIC6

e.g. Phillips, "The Crushing Burden of The Presidency," New York Times, Oct. 2, 1955. Copy of the most recent U.S. Gov. Organizational Manual.

G5. The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesion and must also organize its strategies or provide intellectual leadership.

G6. Political power is unevenly distributed through a population even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man--one vote ensures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

G3. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

G4c. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and to pressures from people outside of government.

G6. Political power is unevenly distributed through a population even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man--one vote ensures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

G5. The leadership of any group must try to maintain group cohesion and must also organize its strategies to provide intellectual leadership.

1. Key advisors must take important roles in developing new ideas and policies. Some of these advisors win great influence over the President.

2. Presidents differ in the way in which they organize and use their cabinet officials and White House staff.

these workers? When is he likely to intervene in details of departmental affairs? How are bureaus and department created?

115. A pupil might prepare a bulletin board display on "Men Behind the President" or "Presidential Advisors". He should tell the class why these men have so much power in our political system. Why must the President pay so much attention to their advice?

IVC2; VIA2

116. Point out to the class that different Presidents have tried to organize their White House and cabinet staffs in different ways in order to make the most effective use of their own time, the most effective use of their advisors, and to make sure they get the information they need about important problems. Describe differences between staff organizations and use of the cabinet by Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson. Or divide class into groups to read about different organizations. Then discuss the strengths and weaknesses of each.

IVD1c,5d VA, B1,2, 3,4

See Newsweek, March 1, 1965; Theodore Powell, ed. Democracy in Action, 253-257; Douglas, Hajda, and Lambert, Readings and Projects in American Government, 135-138.

G4c. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers and to pressures from outside the government.

G4b. Any decision is in part a product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

G4e. Executive decisions are limited by many factors: permissibility, available resources, available time, available information, and previous commitments.

G1a. In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic.

G1b. Political compromise consists of bringing various conflicting political interests or positions into a commonly acceptable intermediate position.

G3. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

G6. Political power is unevenly distributed even in a democracy; the concept of political equality or one man--one vote ensures only a minimum opportunity for influence.

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

117. Tell pupils that problems sometimes arise because of the conflict between bureaus and departments. Have three pupils read the case study on the canoe country. One should outline on the chalkboard the events leading up to the need for the Presidential decision without listing any of the arguments for or against the proposed ruling. He should merely show earlier decisions and the differing recommendations which went to the President. Now have the other two students role-play a debate between a resort owner and a canoe outfitter over the issue involved. The canoe outfitter might show a map and slides or illustrations of the area. Then have each pupil assume the role of the President, make a decision about the issue, and write a statement explaining the decision. He should also write an accompanying analysis of the factors influencing his decision. Have another pupil find out about the decision to end cutting and to prohibit snow mobiles in the area. Discuss these cases as examples of the executive process and of decision-making.	IA1,2a,B; IIIA2; IVC1a,2b, c,D2,4b, E1a,d,4; VIE; XIIA1,4	West, "The Northern Minnesota Canoe Country Dispute"

G2. The executive is a political institution generally representative of the system as a whole; it is charged with the application of public policy and with the external relations of the system.

G4. Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups, and is subject to varying influences.

S. Listens for main ideas and supporting details.

G1a. In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic.

G3. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be demonstrated in reality.

G4a. A law or policy must be effectuated and applied; in that process the whole decision-making and influence process goes on again.

G4. Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.

G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.

G12. The political system consists of a number of components, each of which affects the other components.

D. A number of regulatory agencies are little influenced by the President, although they are engaged in carrying out acts of Congress. These agencies perform legislative and judicial functions as well as executive functions.

118. Tell pupils that some administrative agenices are not so directly under the control of the President. Name one or two and indicate briefly the kinds of jobs they do. Then tell the class briefly how the members of these agencies are appointed. Make it clear that the President cannot remove members once they are appointed. Discuss: How much control does the President have over these regulatory agencies? IIA2; VIC5,D3

119. Have pupils interview a local official in the Food and Drug Administration, the Federal Trade Commission, or the Civil Aviation Board on how this agency carries out the general law under which it was established. Or have the official speak to the class. Be sure to ask the man to discuss the role of the agency in making more detailed rules and regulations under a general policy set down in the law, on the ways in which the agency carries out these rules and regulations, and on the judicial role of the agency. IA2c; IIIA3,C; IVA1a,D2c, 4b; XIIA4

G4c. The decision-maker reacts to pressures from other decision-makers as well as to pressures from people outside government.

S. Distinguishes between relevant and irrelevant information.

S. Checks on the completeness of data and is wary of generalizations based on insufficient evidence.

G4b. Any decision is in part the product of the internalized values, the perceptions, and the experiences of the persons making the decision.

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

G3. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be separated in reality.

120. Or have pupils read articles on one of the regulatory agencies. They should look for the same kinds of things listed in activity 119. Ask pupils to describe examples of things which they have found as the class discusses the regulatory agencies.	IA2b; IIIA2,B4; IVA1a, C1ac,2, D2c,4b; XIIA4	See bibliography.
121. Have pupils examine some television, newspaper, or magazine ads to pick out the things mentioned which are irrelevant to the product. They might also examine the ads for other kinds of misleading information such as incomplete data. Discuss the pros and cons of government regulation of advertising.		
122. Discuss: Does it make any difference whether conservatives or liberals are named to these independent regulatory commissions? (e.g. Suppose a Goldwater Republican were named to the Federal Trade Commission. Would he be likely to act any differently than a liberal Democrat? Why or why not?	IVC1a,c	
123. Have pupils interview a representative of the local draft board to find out how it operates to carry out policies set in Washington.	XIIA1	
124. Have a pupil interview an official of a local television or radio station to find out how the federal government regulates the television or radio industry. What is the role of the regulating agency: to make policy? to carry out a law? judicial? or all three?	XIA1 IIIA3,c	

G3. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be demonstrated in reality.

G12. The political system consists of a number of components, each of which affects the other components.

G4. Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups and is subject to varying influences.

G1a. In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic.

G3. The separation of powers is built on an assumption of political functions which cannot easily be demonstrated in reality.

G12. The political system consists of a number of major components, each of which affects the other components.

G1a. In political conflict there is a struggle over scarce values or goals; these goals may be economic or non-economic.

VII. Governors and local political executives such as mayors also are responsible for carrying out laws. In some cases they have considerable control over administrative agencies, and in some cases these agencies are under the control of men who are elected.

125. Have each pupil during the course of the unit use the U.S. Government Organizational Manual to look up some federal agency or bureau. He should make a chart showing its purposes, whether or not it is independent or within some department, the amount of control which the President has over it, and its activities.

U.S. Government Organizational Manual

126. Have a pupil interview a state or local public health official on the kinds of jobs done by his agency to protect community health. Be sure to have the official discuss the same kinds of things as those listed in 119. (Or you might have such an official speak to the class.) The official should also be asked about how the head of his agency gets his job.

IIIC; IV; XIIA4

127. Have pupils interview someone in the state conservation department about how the hunting seasons are set. Pupils should ask to examine the law under which the department operates in setting up its rules. How are the rules carried out or administered? How is the head of the department chosen? (Or have the official talk to the class.)

IA2c; IIIA3,C XIIA4

128. Several students might prepare a bulletin board display on some conflict which has been referred to or investigated by a federal regulatory agency, a state agency or a local administrative agency. (e.g. investigation of safety of drugs, advertising claims, public health situation, freeway conflict,

IA2d,e

G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.

G4a. A law or policy must be effectuated and applied; in that process the whole decision-making and influence process goes on again.

etc.) Pupils should tell the class more about the conflict as they discuss the bulletin board display.

129. Show the pupils charts on state government executive departments. Compare several state governments, one which gives the governor the power to appoint most administrative officials and one which provides for election of most of these officials. Discuss: Which system is more democratic? Which system gives the governor more opportunity to carry out a program? Now compare several types of local governments and discuss the effects on each of a mayor's power. IVD2h

130. Have pupils find out how a recent state law or local ordinance is being carried out. IVA1

131. Have pupils follow newspapers to find any current examples of police crackdowns on certain kinds of violations (e.g. jaywalking, failing to yield right of way to pedestrians at cross walks, failure to keep to right lane except when passing or turning left, etc.) Why haven't the police been more active in enforcing these laws earlier? What power does the local police chief have over enforcing laws? How is he chosen? IVA1

Culminating Procedures

132. A pupil might write and read to the class an imaginary account of a meeting in heaven between President Washington and President Kennedy. They should discuss the changing powers and duties of the President. (Or two pupils might role-play such an imaginary meeting.)

G4f. An official may experience role conflict because of the many roles he must assume.

G7. Democracy is a complicated consent and consensus system in which consent may move from government to citizens as well as from citizens to government.

G4d. The institutions of government constitute the arenas or the structure within which the authoritative decisions of the political process are made.

G6. Political power is unevenly distributed through a population even in a democracy.

G4a. A law must be effectuated and applied; in that process the whole decision-making and influence process goes on again.

133. Now have pupils look once again at their lists of jobs done by the President and by the governor. Have them add any which they have found since they made the list. Let pupils look again at how they have grouped the different jobs. Would it be better to group them differently? Review with pupils the way in which presidential or gubernatorial roles may conflict. — IVF1a,b, c,d,e, 2a,b,c

134. A pupil might prepare a bulletin board on "The Many Roles of the President of the United States." Point out that pupils will study the President's legislative role in more detail in the next unit. — IVF1a,b, c,d,e

135. If a presidential press conference is broadcast on TV, have pupils watch it if possible. Or they may watch excerpts of it on an evening newscast. Discuss the conference in terms of requirements which it makes of a President. (Need to be verbal, problems if he makes errors, problems which could arise if he makes a commitment without considerable thought earlier, etc.) Then discuss: Since the President may run into problems as a result of these press conferences, why does he hold them? — VIIA

136. Tell the class that a constitutional amendment was passed during the 1950's to limit any President to two full terms in office. Discuss: How might this affect the way in which the President can influence administrative staff and congressmen during his second term? (Remind pupils of way CIA acted during end of Eisenhower's last term as they planned the Cuban invasion.) — IVD3, IXA

137. Read aloud Truman's comment that: "I sit here all day trying to persuade people to do the things they ought to have sense enough to do without my persuading them" Also read aloud his comment when Eisenhower was running for President" "He'll sit — VIC2,4,5, 6, D1, E3

C4. Decision-making in a large, complex society is shared by several groups, including the executive, and is subject to varying influences.

S. Sets up hypotheses.

here and he'll say, 'Do this! Do that!' And nothing will happen. Poor Ike--it won't be a bit like the Army. He'll find it very frustrating." Now tell the pupils that one man describes presidential power "as the power to persuade." Discuss: Do you agree? Why or why not? What factors give the President influence enough to persuade others to do things?

138. Several pupils might prepare a bulletin board on presidential decision-making. The display might illustrate the influences and limitations on presidential decision-making. IV

139. Discuss: Is presidential decision-making in times of crisis undemocratic? Could it be made more democratic? How does the voter affect presidential decision-making? How does he affect gubernatorial decision-making? How does he affect decisions of independent regulatory commissions? VIIIA

140. Review the major ideas of the unit. Ask: Have your ideas about the President changed any during your study of this unit? If so, how? Now how do you feel about whether or not you would like to be President?

141. Ask pupils to write a help-wanted advertisement for "Wanted: Our Next President." They should include the qualities needed and the kind of work as one might in a help-wanted ad.

142. Ask: Do you think that congressmen and judges will be affected by some of the same influences and limitations as Presidents are when they make decisions? Why? (Point out that pupils will study congressional decision-making in the next unit.) Discuss: Would you expect to find that power is not evenly distributed among congressmen any more than among members of the executive department?

143. Give a unit test. Perhaps give pupils a brief case study involving presidential, gubernatorial, or local decision-making. Have pupils analyze the case study for conflict, accommodation, power relationships, influences upon decision-making, etc. Discuss results in class.

144. Ask for volunteers to follow the news on executive decision-making for the rest of the year. Members of this follow-up committee should report to the class at intervals.

The Executive in the American Political System

Frank J. Sorauf

The history of executive power in the United States is the history of a grudging acceptance of positive government and personal leadership in the American democracy. In the 18th and 19th Centuries, the centuries in which most of the American constitutions were written, the executive was viewed as the successor to royal tyranny and despotism. Democratic hopes were vested in the legislature, and only the truest skeptics of democracy, men like Alexander Hamilton, espoused the strong executive office. Consequently, the executive offices written into the American constitutions were either not fully defined--as is the case of the Presidency--or explicitly hampered and hobbled, the fate of some of the governorships.

The executive office has, however, revived in the 20th Century as a by-product of the rise of positive government and mass, popular democracy. But as a result of the indeterminate or unfavorable constitutional position the executive occupies, its growth has depended on "extra-constitutional" powers, rather than those of the constitutional document. The growth of executive power, in other words, cannot be viewed merely as a formal, constitutional phenomenon. In the case of the American President, for example, none of his constitutional powers has been expanded by interpretation in this century, some have been contracted (his dismissal power, for example), and one constitutional amendment at least has materially compromised his position.

These comments, however, are not to suggest that the constitutional framework is unimportant in defining the American executive. It does make a very great difference just which powers are delegated to the executive and how much of the structure of the executive branch is set down in the constitution. It makes a difference whether the outlining of the President's Cabinet and major departments is left to the Congress or whether it is blocked out for all time as it is in many state constitutions. But the fact remains that the American executive must be seen as an office defined largely by the political imperatives and demands of popular democracy and a complex, interdependent, industrial society. It is in many respects what the incumbent chooses to make of it.

In the paragraphs which follow some of the major analytical and topical approaches to the American executive will be discussed. The President and the governors will be discussed together, although at times distinctions will have to be made between them. This paper will not deal with local executives especially mayors--for two reasons: they present somewhat different analytical problems and they will be dealt with in a separate unit on local political systems.

A. The Executive as Protector

Both the President and the governor have responsibilities as the commander-in-chief of armed forces. In the case of the President it means the command, with genuine military authority, of the entire military establishment. It means responsibility for decisions on the selection of military commanders and

the determination of tactics and strategies, Lincoln searched restlessly for a general who would prosecute the Civil War as he wanted it prosecuted, and Franklin Roosevelt in consultation with the allied chiefs of state determined major strategy outlines for the invasion. Similarly, the President's power as the commander-in-chief includes the power to send American troops and weapons to positions or action abroad; that power may, indeed, be used in such a way as to make the Congressional power to declare war.

Unlike the Presidential authority, that of the governors in this field are involved with internal violence, crisis, disorder, and calamity. The governor's control over the state's National Guard and state police may be used both to stop violence and disorder and to help victims of flood, fire, and other catastrophe. But in the case of both the President and the governor, it is important to remember that even these basic decisions of order and safety have political roots and consequences. Even decisions involving the survival of government and society itself are not without political controversy and influence. President Truman's difference with General MacArthur over the strategies in the Korean War illustrates the often difficult political tasks of setting priorities among military and defense objectives and of maintaining defense policy within the broader outlines and goals of American foreign policy. The governor, too, may find himself thrown into political controversy when he sends the state militia to intervene in labor-management conflict or in a desegregation controversy. Some recent events have suggested that his decision may be influenced by his desire to maintain his own political power and career.

The President possesses the additional, enormous power and responsibility over the setting of American foreign policy. That involves his power to extend recognition to foreign regimes, to select and exchange representatives with them, to negotiate treaties and conclude executive agreements--and in the aggregate, to take the initiative for the setting of foreign policy. And yet the President's power is not complete. He must bargain with Congress for funds and for approval of his treaties and appointments. Above all, he must coordinate the many agencies touching the areas of foreign policy--the State Department, the Agency for International Development, the Export-Import Bank and the Tariff Commission, to mention only a few. He must additionally be aware of the implication for foreign affairs of more traditionally "domestic" policies--for instance, the enforcement of civil rights. Above all, the President must carry the main burden in mobilizing public support for his foreign policies; unlike policy in the fields such as agriculture and labor, there are few groups or constituencies in the country who will organize it for him.

B. The Executive as Legislative Leader

Executive power over legislatures begins with formal message-sending and veto powers, but it is easy to overestimate these formal powers. The President and most governors, for instance, must accept or veto a bill in its entirety; hence, they become victims of controversial riders tacked onto omnibus appropriation bills. By the same token, it is insufficient to think of the appointment power in terms of executives proposing and legislatures approving. The appointment may be made in a lengthy process of bargaining; in fact, the tradi-

tion of "senatorial courtesy" demands that the President clear appointments with the senators of his party from the state in which the appointee will function.

The main bulk of the executive's relationships with the legislature, however, turn on his concrete, positive proposals for legislative action. The work of legislatures tends to be evaluated in terms of the passage or rejection of the President's or governor's program. Most major legislation is drafted in executive agencies, the expert knowledge and testimony behind it is generally marshalled by the executive, and the political support for it is generated at least in part by the executive. Increasingly the executive has become a potent source of organized influence working on the legislature; in this regard, among others, the growth of executive political power is in considerable part turned on the legislature.

C. The Executive as Popular Leader

Executives have more than any other of the three branches come in this century to represent and embody the aspirations of a developing mass, popular democracy in the United States. That embodiment is not, of course, entirely a product of this century; it was Andrew Jackson who first made the Presidency a post of popular and party leadership. But in the 20th Century mass politics and mass leadership have been the watchwords in all forms of government; democracy, too, has found its leaders. The task of leadership that has fallen to executives is a twofold task: that of being a leader of all the people and being a leader of a party and its part of the people. The executive who manages, as Franklin Roosevelt did, to be both goes a long way in laying the base for strong executive influence and leadership.

The executive's position as a leader depends on three main considerations: his response to his constituency, his appeal to the public, and his leadership of a party. As for his constituency, the executive alone represents the total population of the government he heads; the legislature is only a collection of local constituencies. Only the executive can speak effectively for a constituency which increasingly senses that political life and problems are general rather than local. The executive constituency may, furthermore, differ in structure from the total of the legislative constituencies. In the Congress rural areas have been overrepresented, but the Electoral College, which defines the President's constituency, places a premium on the large urban states with the big electoral votes.

In making his appeal to the public the executive has been aided tremendously by the mass media. Fireside chats and Great Debates on TV have brought the executive close to millions of voters, and media coverage has destroyed his privacy and that of his family. In a world of large, complex, impersonal government the executive is the single person who seems to personify and humanize the system. That burden is at the same time an enormous political potential. And in the American system the leadership position of the executive is the greater because there is no single institutionalized leadership position for the opposition. We have no recognized leader of the opposition; no one fades from public attention much faster than a defeated Presidential candidate.

Finally, the executive depends on his position as a leader of his party. He is the man who heads the party ticket, and the fate of legislators and other office-seekers depends in part on his coat-tail appeal. Furthermore, in a party system not given to windy manifestoes and clear statements of principles, his programs and policies become those of the party. The executive may also be in a very real and concrete way the leader of the party organization. Large numbers of governors exercise direct and powerful control over their party within the state and over the patronage, the selection of candidates, the election of party leaders, and the activities of the party in national politics.

D. The Executive as Chief Administrator

It is easy to forget that the executive is an executive, that he heads a complicated executive and administrative establishment and oversees the administration of a large number of laws and programs. At the most basic the executive may have to decide whether or not to execute. Is a President to enforce anti-trust statutes he does not approve of? Is he to enforce a Supreme Court decision when to do so would be politically costly? Is a governor to order the enforcement of censorship statutes of dubious constitutionality?

Generally, however, burgeoning administrative agencies administer laws and programs on a day-to-day basis. The great task of the executive is to control and coordinate these agencies. Often in the states they exist almost completely apart from gubernatorial control--elected officials direct an autonomous agency with separate, ear-marked funds. The "weak" governorships, as the texbooks describe them, generally are those with little control over a collection of autonomous, non-integrated agencies in the executive branch. In these cases it is by design that constitution writers created an executive who could not be a chief executive. There are still many, of course, who prefer to see executives unable to control their executive branches--legislators who think they wax when executives wane, and interest groups who prefer to deal with administrative agencies free from executive supervision. These are the issues (rather than the question of "efficiency") which lie behind attempts to reorganize executive branches in the manner of the Hoover commissions.

In his battle to control the executive agencies, the chief executive cannot rely, except sporadically, on his popular support with the public; issues of administrative control cannot be dramatized or made to seem that important. He must instead rely on two chief powers: those af appointment of top-level administrative personnel (and in some states, most of the personnel) and of budgetary control. Where both are denied, as they are to some governors, virtually all is lost.

Finally, in this struggle for control of the administrative agencies it might be well for the student to look at the "man in the middle"--the agency itself and its political life. The personnel of the agency develop human loyalties to the agency and its programs; they believe in the agency's mission and they want it to flourish and succeed. To do so the agency must build political friends and influence in the political public and in the legislature. The agency is generally dependent on legislative friends and on their client groups, often the very groups they are "regulating." If the

Federal Power Commission has more to fear politically from a Congressional chairman or the natural gas industry than from the President, the lesson is clear. One might here take as an illustration the complex set of relationships among Defense agencies, congressmen with districts dependent on defense contracts, and defense suppliers and contractors--a complex about which President Eisenhower warned in his Presidential valedictory.

E. The Growth of Executive Power

Finally, the student ought to investigate the reasons for the growth of executive power in the American political system over the last few generations. That problem in turn can be broken into two components: the reasons for the growth and the sources of the expanded power.

Above all, the growth of executive power results from the expansion of democracy and the resultant need of many citizens for a symbol of the policy, for a personality to typify it, for someone to speak on behalf of the entire constituency, for an individual who will clarify the obscure and simplify the complex. The rise of executive power also reflects the simple growth of government and its functions, since that growth is most vividly reflected in the growth of the executive's branch. It is associated also with the engulfing of the legislative branch by the complexity and sheer weight of the governing task and by the increasing need for government to confront crisis and emergency with swiftness and directness. And in the case of the President the increasing involvement of the United States in the affairs of the world has meant an expansion in executive responsibility.

The sources of the new executive power we have already touched on. They have not been chiefly constitutional, although some state constitutional revisions have increased gubernatorial power and control. By and large they spring from the executive's role as party leader and from his ability to mobilize and represent popular opinion. Finally, it is easy to overlook another very important source: the delegation of legislative powers to the executive. One example should suffice. Congress has, by giving the President and his branch the power to alter tariff rates under the flexible tariff and reciprocal trade agreements program, shifted from its hands to the executive branch the major responsibility for questions which less than 50 years ago dominated many Congressional elections and sessions.

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useful works on the subject by Louis Brownlow, Harold Laski, Glendon Schubert, Rexford Tugwel, Sidney Hyman, Wilfred Binkley, and E. Pendleton Herring.

The governor has not, however, fared so well in the scholarly literature. Coleman B. Ransone's The Office of the Governor in the United States (University of Alabama Press, 1956) remains the best work on the subject, thorough and perceptive, but not especially analytical. On the more formal level of constitutional powers, see Bennett M. Rich, State Constitutions: The Governor (New York: National Municipal League, 1960). Also useful, and especially so for its ability to capture the informal political nature of the governorship, is Glenn E. Brooks, When Governors Convene (Baltimore: John Hopkins U. Press, 1961).

On the subject of administrative politics, the literature is both ample and thin. It is ample in that many of the standard works on public administration and organization touch the subject, but the bibliography dealing explicitly with the subject is thin. E. Pendleton Herring's Public Administration and Public Interest (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963) is a classic, as is Avery Leiserson's Administrative Regulation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942). More recently J. Leiper Freeman's The Political Process: Executive Bureau - Legislative Committee Relations offers excellent material (New York: Random House, 1955). For a good general survey of the subject, the reader should also consult Perer Woll, American Bureaucracy (New York: Norton, 1963). Among the many excellent works that deal in part with this subject, one should be mentioned, not only for this topic, but for its tremendous insight into the entire American political process: David B. Truman, The Governmental Process (New York: Knopf, 1951).

Finally, this entire area is one in which excellent shorter case studies abound, largely a result of the commitment of teachers of public administration to this form of material. Harold Stein's collection of cases, Public Administration and Policy Development deals entirely with administrative politics. So, very largely, do the case studies collected and published individually by the Inter-University Case Study Program. Two other excellent collections of cases, some of which are relevant to these topics, are: Alan Westin, ed., The Uses of Power (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1962), and Richard Frost, ed., Cases in State and Local Government (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961).

APPENDIX No. 1

AS PRESIDENTS SAW THE JOB OF PRESIDENT

Kennedy spoke about the "loneliness of the President." He described the advice he got but added: "Still, in the end, he is alone. There stands the decision--and there stands the President."

Kennedy: "I had plenty of problems when I came in, but wait until the fellow that follows me sees what he will inherit."
"I used to wonder when I was in the House how President Truman got into so much trouble. Now I'm beginning to get the idea. . . ."

Truman: "No one man can really fill the Presidency. [It] is an executive job that is almost fantastic. No absolute monarch has ever had such decisions to make or the responsibilities that the President of the United States has."

Wilson declared that: "There are blessed intervals when I forget by one means or another that I am President of the United States." He also said: "The office of President requires the constitution of an athlete, the patience of a mother, the endurance of an early Christian."

Jefferson called the Presidency "a splendid misery."

John Adams: "Had I been chosen President again, I am certain I could not have lived another year."

John Q. Adams called his term as President "The four most miserable years of my life. . . ."

Buchanan told Lincoln: "If you are as happy my dear sir on entering this house as I am in leaving it and returning home you are the happiest man in this country."

Lincoln: "I feel like the man who was tarred and feathered and ridden out of town on a rail. To the man who asked him how he liked it, he said, 'If it wasn't for the honor of the thing, I'd rather walk.'"

Theodore Roosevelt: "No other President ever enjoyed the Presidency as I did."

Garfield: "What is there in this place that a man should ever want to get it?"

APPENDIX No. 2

WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF YOU WERE PRESIDENT OR GOVERNOR IN EACH OF THE FOLLOWING SITUATIONS?

1. The United States is at war with Japan. Your chief military advisor has told you that if the U.S. has to invade Japan, a half million American soldiers will die and another half million will be wounded. Your scientific advisors have told you that they have developed an atomic bomb which is far more devastating than any bomb ever before used in wartime. One bomb can wipe out a city and kill everyone within a radius of five miles from where it is dropped. Atomic bombs can be developed in the future which will be much more powerful. If you order the bomb used on a Japanese city, it will kill far more civilians (men, women, and children) than soldiers. It will have to be used without warning to be effective. As President, you must decide whether the bomb should be used. WHAT WOULD YOU DECIDE?

or

You have just seen pictures showing the destruction caused by the first atomic bombs used in wartime. Now suppose that you were President of the United States at the time the decision was made to drop the bomb. You have been informed that scientists have developed the atomic bomb. You have also been told just how destructive the bomb can be. (However, you have not seen films or pictures of the destruction caused by the bomb, because it has not been used.) The United States is at war with Japan. Your chief military advisor has told you that if the U.S. must invade Japan, a half million soldiers will die and another half million will be wounded. You have been told that if the atomic bomb is to be effective, it must be used against a large city without warning. If you order the bomb used, it will kill far more civilian men, women, and children than soldiers. You have also been told that this bomb is just the beginning. Scientists should be able to develop far more destructive atomic bombs in the future. If you use the bomb, it may encourage other countries to work harder to develop such a bomb of their own for future use -- perhaps against the U.S. WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

2. You receive reports that Russia is setting up missile bases in Cuba, only 90 miles from our coast. Medium-range missiles are already pointed at the United States, ready to fire. Such missiles can go as far as Washington, D.C. They can carry atomic warheads which can devastate that city or any other city which they hit. The Russians are also setting up bases for firing intermediate-range missiles which can reach almost any point in the U.S. Russia already has intercontinental missiles which can reach the U.S., but the U.S. has about 15 minutes warning time after they are shot. Warning time would be much less for missiles from Cuba. Moreover, our system for defense against missiles could not be used against missiles coming from this direction of Cuba. Russians are manning the missile bases in Cuba. If the U.S. were to bomb these sites, Russians would

be killed and Russia might declare war on the U.S. Moreover, Russia has announced that if the U.S. invades Cuba, Russia will go to the aid of Cuba. WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

3. Nine Negro children are trying to attend an all-white high school in Arkansas. The school board has ordered them admitted to the school. The federal court has approved the plan of the school board for desegregating the local schools gradually over a period of years. It has ordered the plan to be put into effect. The governor declares that there is likely to be violence. He calls out the national guard and keeps the Negro children from going to the school. You as President meet with the governor and try to persuade him to use the troops to enforce the court order--to prevent violence while letting the Negro children go to the school. The governor does not do so. The federal court now orders him to stop using the national guard to keep the Negroes out of school. If he does not do so, he may be fined and put in prison. The governor withdraws the troops. By this time, the publicity and discussions have led to a dangerous situation. Crowds gather at the school and threaten violence after the Negro children enter. Several adult Negroes are beaten up. Apparently the local officials cannot prevent violence, and apparently the governor will not use guard troops to prevent it. As President you can send troops to the school area to keep the peace and enforce the law. WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

4. You are governor of Minnesota. A strike has broken out in a large town in southern Minnesota. The company has hired outsiders to come in and take the jobs of those out on strike. Attempts to settle the strike have come to a standstill. Violence breaks out. The strikers go around the countryside burning barns and damaging cars of those who have taken their jobs. They also damage cars of those going through their lines at the plant in order to work. A man is injured and taken to the hospital. Your advisors in the town telephone you that the situation is out of hand. They advise you to declare martial law--to send the national guard and put them in charge of the town for the time being, in order to preserve order. They recommend that the plant be closed for a time to lessen the likelihood of violence. The town officials, the county sheriff, and the county attorney give you the same advice. WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

5. You are governor of a state in which murderers can still be punished by death in the electric chair. A man has been sentenced to death. He has appealed his case but the higher courts have upheld the decision. Now his lawyers appeal to you to change his sentence to life imprisonment. You have power to do this. WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

APPENDIX No. 3

EXERCISE ON DECISION TO DROP THE ATOMIC BOMB

Read the selections on the decision to drop the atomic bomb at Hiroshima. As you read, try to find the answers to the following questions:

1. On what facts, if any, do the different authors agree?

2. On what facts, if any, do they disagree?

3. Does any author fail to include facts which you think important in deciding whether to accept his conclusion about the decision?

4. What point of view does each author take about the decision to drop the bomb? (Underline phrases and words which tell you what the point of view is.)

5. What are the basic assumptions of each author?

6. These statements were all made after the bomb had been dropped. Do you think that any of these men had any personal reason for taking the stand that they did on the decision? If so, what is the reason?

APPENDIX No. 4.

ATTITUDES OF MINNESOTANS TOWARD BUILDING BOMB SHELTERS, 1965*

In the fall of 1965, the Minnesota Poll surveyed attitudes of Minnesotans toward building bomb shelters. Sixty-four per cent said that it was not worthwhile to build such shelters.

Those who said that it was not worthwhile were asked their reasons. Some gave several reasons. The numbers giving each type of reason are summarized here. Thirty-seven per cent believed that shelters would not do any good. For example, one man said: "These bombs do terrific destruction. The family-type shelters would never be sufficient in the face of such explosions."

Thirty per cent said that life would not be worth living after a nuclear explosion. One woman said that she "would not want to come out to see everything ruined. There would be too many dangers and cripples to start over again."

Only fifteen per cent felt that shelters were not necessary. Some thought war unlikely. Others thought our defense system would stop the attack.

Thirteen perccent said that there would not be time to get to a shelter.

Only eleven per cent said that shelters were too expensive.

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*Summarized from "Minnesota Poll," Minneapolis Tribune, Oct. 10, 1965, p. 3C.

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